THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE GOSPEL OF JOHN--
A STRUCTURAL APPROACH

by

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The research, writing, and completion of any written work is never a solitary achievement. As Todorov reminds us, it is the "I-Thou" relationship which forms the essential point of difference between thought and speech (T. Todorov, The Poetics of Prose, trans. R. Howard [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977], p. 100). Thus in speaking I acknowledge the presence and influence of others. Speaking, however, is always a dangerous act, and the peril is heightened when one attempts to acknowledge his indebtedness to others, especially when he owes much and there are so many others.

Still, despite the possibility that someone will be neglected, he must take the risk and attempt to name those who have given him their valuable time and help. I begin with Prof. G. McLeod Bryan, at Wake Forest University, who urged all his students to take the first steps towards a more mature Christian discipleship. Experienced at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, I must acknowledge the influence of Professors Max G. Rogers, John E. Steely, William Strickland, Donald Cook, Raymond Brown, and Archie Nations, among the many others in that environment.

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PREFACE

As the reader will observe, the "structures" in this thesis are perhaps as complicated, or more complicated, than those of the Gospel of John which I have attempted to examine and explain. As the author of this thesis, I would like to give my version of its narrative logic, although it can speak for itself.

Chapter I provides a preliminary introduction to the major problem of the thesis, the cultural context of the Fourth Gospel or the "Johannine Problem," and to the method which will be used for solving it--structuralism. The chapter concludes with a brief statement of the solution to be defended. Because of the complexities involved in both the problem and the method we deemed it best to keep this initial presentation elementary and brief.

Chapter II presents a survey and analysis of the current research on the problem and the various solutions which have been proposed.

Chapter III sets off in search of a better method. It begins by examining some of the difficulties which have befallen earlier attempts and concludes by presenting what we consider the basic foundations for the better method we seek.

Chapter IV is essentially the heart of the thesis since it conjoins our tentative method and the problem. From the discoveries made and the foundations laid in earlier chapters, it proceeds to demonstrate the existence of a significant cultural difference between the Rachel and Leah tribes from Genesis to Revelation. It is this difference, and other differences arising from it, we believe, which provide means for solving the Johannine problem--the question of the cultural context of John.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ab.Z.Jer.: Jerusalem Talmud, Abodah Zara.

A.D.: Anno Domini, After Christ or the Common Era.

ANF: Ante-Nicene Fathers.

anony.: anonymous.

Ant.: Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews.

Athanasius of Alexandria, Ad Afros: Epistola Ad Afros (P. G. 26).

Athanasius of Alexandria, De Synodis: Epistola de Synodis (P. G. 26)

ATR: Anglican Theological Review.

St. Augustine, Serm.: Sermons or Sermonum.

A.V.: Authorized or King James Version.

2 Bar.: Second Baruch (O.T. Apocrypha).

Basil, Menol.: Menologium Basilianum ex editione cardinalis Albani (P. G. 117).

B.C.: Before Christ or the Common Era.

Bem.R.: Amoraic Midrash Rabbah on Numbers (The Midrash Rabbah is usually abbreviated with the Hebrew name of the biblical book + R. for Midrash Rabbi).

BJRL: Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.

B.St.: The Basil and Henrici Stephani editions of Theodoret, H.E..

ca.: circa, approximately.

Catenae Pauli epist. ad Corinth: J. A. Cramer, ed., Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum.

CBQ: *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*.

C.C.D.P.: *Catalogue Collectif des Periodiques*.

cen.: century

cf.: confer, compare.

chap., chaps.: chapter, chapters.

Chron.: see Eusebius, *Chron*.

1 Chron.: First Chronicles (O.T.).

2 Chron.: Second Chronicles (O.T.).

Chron. Pasch.: *Chronicon Paschale*.

Clem. Hom.: Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*.

Clement Alex., *Strom*.: Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* (P. G. 8).

Co.: Company.

Col.: Colossians (N.T.).

col., cols.: column; columns.

Constitutiones Apostolocum: *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* (ANF, VII).

1 Cor.: First Corinthians (N.T.).

2 Cor.: Second Corinthians (N.T.).

Cyprian, *Epist*.: *Epistles* (ANF, V).

Dam. Doc.: *Damascus Document*.

D (school, source, account, tradition, etc.): Deuteronomic (school, source, etc.).

Dan.: Daniel (O.T.).

Deut.: Deuteronomy (O.T.).

Didymus, *De Trin*.: *De Trinitate libritres* (P. G. 39).

Div.: Division.

E (school, source, account, tradition, etc.): Elohist (school, source, etc.).

Eccl. Hist.: *Historia ecclesiastica*.

ed.: edited (by), editor, edition.

eds.: editors.

e.g.: for example.

Epiphanius, *De Mens.et Pond.*: *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* (P. G. 43).

Epiphanius, *Pan.*: *Panarium sive Arcula adversus octoginta Haereses* (P. G. 41-42).

esp.: especially.

et al.: and others.

etc.: et cetera, and so forth.

Eusebius, *Chron.*: *Chronicorum Libri Duo* (P. G. 10).

Eusebius, *H.E.*: *Historia ecclesiastica*.

Eusebius, *Hist.*: *Historia ecclesiastica*.

Eusebius, *Prep. Evang.*: *Praeparatio evangelica* (P. G. 21).

Ex.: Exodus (O.T.).

Ezek.: Ezekiel (O.T.).

f., ff.: following.

Frankfurt/M.: Frankfurt am Main.

Gal.: Galatians (N.T.).

Gen.: Genesis (O.T.).

H.E.: *Historia ecclesiastica* (see additional listings under Eusebius, Nicephorus, Socrates, and Theodoret).

Heb.: Epistle to the Hebrews (N.T.).

Heracleon, Commen. on Lk.: Commentary on Luke (extant only in fragments preserved by Clement of Alexandria et al.).

Hippolytus, Demonst. Christo et Antichristo: Demonstratio Christo et Antichristo (P. G. 10).

Hippolytus, On Dan.: Fragmenta in Danielem (P. G. 10).

Hippolytus, Ref.: Refutation of All Heresies (ANF, V).

HTR: Harvard Theological Review.

ibid.: the same (source or reference).

ICC: International Critical Commentary.

IDB: Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible.

idem: the same author, writer, or editor.

Inc.: Incorporated.

Irenaeus, Adv. Haer.: Adversus Haereses (ANF, I).

Isa.: Isaiah (O.T.).

J (source, account, tradition, etc.): Yahwist (account, tradition, etc.).

JBL: Journal of Biblical Literature.

Jellinek, Bet ha Midrash: A. Jellinek, Bet ha Midrash (Leipzig, 1853-77).

Jer.: Jeremiah (O.T.).

St. Jerome, Commen. Matt.: Commentarius im Evangelium secundum Matthaeum (P. L. 26).

St. Jerome, De Viris Illustr.: Liber de Viris illustribus (P. L. 23).

St. Jerome, De vitis apost.: De Vitis Apostolorum (P. L. 23).

St. Jerome, Epistola: Epistolae in quatour classes (P. L. 22).

St. Jerome, In Is.: Commentariorum in Isaiam (P. L. 24).

Jgs.: Judges (O.T.).

Jn.: Gospel of John (N.T.).

1 Jn.: First Epistle of John (N.T.).

2 Jn.: Second Epistle of John (N.T.).

3 Jn.: Third Epistle of John (N.T.).

Josephus, Ant.: Antiquities of the Jews.

Josephus, Vita: Life of Flavius Josephus.

Josephus, War: Wars of the Jews.

Josh.: Joshua (O.T.).

JQR: Jewish Quarterly Review.

JTS: Journal of Theological Studies.

Jub.: Book of Jubilees (O.T. Pseudepigrapha).

Justin Martyr, Apol. I: First Apology (ANF, I).

Justin Martyr, Dial.: Dialogue with Trypho (ANF, I).

1 Kgs.: First Kings (O.T.).

2 Kgs.: Second Kings (O.T.).

Leontius, De Sectis (P. G. 86).

Lk.: Gospel of Luke (N.T.).

LXX: Septuagint (Greek Text of the O.T.).

M.: Mishnah.

M. Ber.: Mishnah Berakot.

M. Dem.: Mishnah Demai.

M. Gitt.: Mishnah Gittin.

M. Ket.: Mishnah Ketubot.

M. Ned.: Mishnah Nedarim.

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M. Nidd.: Mishnah Niddah.

M. Rosh. Ha Sh.: Mishnah Rosh Hashanah.

M. Shek.: Mishnah Shekalim.

M. Ter.: Mishnah Terumoth.

1 Macc.: First Maccabees (O.T. Apocrypha).

2 Macc.: Second Maccabees (O.T. Apocrypha).

Mekhil.: Mekhilta.

Mekhil. Ex.: Mekhilta on Exodus (Tannaitic Midrash).

Mic.: Micah (O.T.).

Migne, P. G.: J. P. Migne, Patrologia Graeca.

Migne, P. L.: J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina.

mimeo.: mimeographed.

MIT: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Mk.: Gospel of Mark (N.T.).

MLN: Modern Language Notes.

MS: Manuscript.

MSS: Manuscripts.

MT: Masoretic Text.

Mtt.: Gospel of Matthew (N.T.).

Matt.: Gospel of Matthew (N.T.).

n.: note.

n.d.: no date given.

Nicephorus, H.E.: Nicephorus Callistus, Historia Ecclesiastica
(P. G. 145).

nn.: notes.

no., No.: number.

nos., Nos.: numbers.

n.p.: no publisher given.

n.s.: new series.

N.T.: New Testament.

N.T.: *Novum Testamentum*.

NTS: *New Testament Studies*.

N.U.C.: *National Union Catalogue*.

n.v.: no volume number given.

Num.: Book of Numbers (O.T.).

orig.: originally.

Origen, *Commen. im Mtt.*: *Commentaria in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (P. G. 13).

Origen, *Commen. on Jn.*: *Commentaria in Evangelium Joannis* (P. G. 14).

Origen, *Hom. ad Num.*: *Homiliae in Numeros* (P. G. 12).

O.T.: Old Testament.

P (source, tradition, school, etc.): Priestly (source, school, etc.).

p.: page.

Pan.: *Panarium* (see Epiphanius, *Pan.*).

passim: in many places throughout the text.

Pesh. Song: *Peshitta of the Song of Songs*.

Pesikt.: Pesikta de Rab Kahana (see B. Mandelbaum, *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*).

P. G.: J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*.

Phil.: Philippians (N.T.).

Philasterius, De haer.: Liber de Haeresibus (for text and English trans. see S. Isser, The Dositheans, pp. 35-36).

Philo, Agr.: De Agricultura.

Philo, Cong.: De Congressu Eruditionis gratia.

Philo, Ebr.: De Ebrietate.

Philo, Jos.: De Josepho.

Philo, Leg. All.: Legum Allegoriarum.

Philo, Mig.: De Migratione Abrahami.

Philo, Mut.: De Mutatione Nominum.

Philo, Post.: De Posteritate Caini.

Philo, Quis Her.: Quis rerum divinarum heres sit.

Philo, Quod Deus: Quod Deus sit Immutabilis.

Philo, Sob.: De Sobrietate.

Philo, Som.: De Somniis.

Philo, Spec. Leg.: De Specialibus Legibus.

Pirke R. Eliezer: see G. Friedlander, Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer.

P. L.: J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina.

pp.: pages.

Ps.: Psalm, Psalms (O.T.).

Ps. Clem. Hom.: Pseudo-Clementine Homilies.

Ps. Clem. Recog.: Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions.

Ps. Philo: Pseudo-Philo, Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum.

Pseudo-Tertullian: chaps. 46-53 of Tertullian, De praescriptione haereticorum (P. L. 2).

pt.: part.

Ptolemy, Geography: Claudius Ptolemaeus, Geographia.

pub.: published (by), publisher.

P.U.F.: Presses Universitaires de France.

Q document: the so-called "sayings source" of all the material in common with Mtt. and Lk. but not found in Mk.

4 QEx^{a}: Exodus text found at Qumran, cave no. 4.

11 Q Melch.: Text on Melchizedek found at Qumran, cave no. 11.

rev.: revised.

Rev.: Book of Revelation (N.T.).

rev. ed.: revised edition.

Rom.: Book of Romans (N.T.).

R.S.V.: Revised Standard Version.

§, §§: section; sections (or sometimes line; lines).

1 Sam.: First Samuel (O.T.).

2 Sam.: Second Samuel (O.T.).

SBL: Society of Biblical Literature.

ser.: series.

sic.: thus, note.

S.Nu.: Sifre on Numbers (see P. P. Levertoff, Midrash Sifre on Numbers).

Socrates, Hist. Eccl.: Historia ecclesiastica (P. G. 67).

SP: Samaritan Pentateuch.

S.P.C.K.: Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.

Strabo: The Geography of Strabo (see Loeb Classical Library).

Strack-Billerbeck: H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash, four vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1926-28).

sub. ann.: sub annum, under the year.

supp. series: supplementary series.

supp. vol.: supplementary volume.

T.B.: Babylonian Talmud.

T.B. Ber.: Babylonian Talmud, Berakot.

T.B. Hull.: Babylonian Talmud, Hullin.

T.B. Kidd.: Babylonian Talmud, Kuddushin.

T.B. Mass. Kut.: Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Kuthim.

T.B. Sanh.: Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin.

TDNT: *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*.

Tertullian, *Adv. Prax.*: *Adversus Praxeam* or *Against Praxeas* (ANF, III).

Tertullian, *De Presc. Her.*: *Liber de Praescriptionibus adversus haereticos* (P. L. 2).

Tertullian, *Exh. castit.*: *De Exhortatione Castitatis* or *Exhortation to Chastity* (P. L. 2).

Theodoret, *H.E.*: *Historia ecclesiastica* (P. G. 82).

Theodoret, *In Ps.*: *Interpretatio in Psalmos* (P. G. 80).

2 Tim.: Second Timothy (N.T.).

Tos.: Tosephta.

Tos. Mikwaot: Tosephta Mikwaot.

Tos. Sotah: Tosephta Sotah.

trans.: translator, translated (by), translation.

TU: *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*.

TWNT: *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*.

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

v.: verse.

vol.; vols.: volume; volumes.

vv.: verses.

Zech.: Zechariah (O.T.).

ZNW: *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

ZTK: *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*.

Note: Occasionally different abbreviations for the same source are given above, e.g., Eusebius, *H.E.* and *Hist*. The variants are explained by *the presence of variant abbreviations for the same source in different direct quotations*. Therefore, in order to supply a comprehensive list of all the abbreviations appearing in the text and notes, it has been necessary to list the variants as well. With regard to the titles of early Christian sources, English titles are given for those sources which are more widely recognized in English, e.g., in the ANF, while Latin titles are given for those sources whose titles are more widely recognized and cited in Latin or for those sources which are to our knowledge available only in Latin or Greek in Migne's Patrologia. This practice is also followed in the text. Thus early church fathers available in English, e.g., in ANF, are cited without P. G. or P. L. numbers, while sources available to our knowledge only in Migne are cited with the necessary volume and column numbers.

Abbreviations which appear in the text or notes with a *proper name preceding them are alphabetized under that proper name*, e.g., under Athanasius of Alexandria, St. Augustine, Basil, Jerome, etc. However, those abbreviations which frequently appear in the text or notes without a proper name, because of their wide recognition, are also listed under their titles, e.g., *Ant.*, *Chron.*, *H.E.*, *Pan.*, for the convenience of the reader.

CHAPTER I

A PRELIMINARY INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM AND THE METHOD

Amost half a century ago Adolf von Harnack stated that the greatest riddle in the history of the Early Church and the New Testament was the origin of the Gospel of John.[1] Despite a large number of attempts since then to solve this riddle, Harnack's statement remains true up to this day. As Songer puts it, the problem remains "one of the most complex and controversial realms of Johannine research."[2]

The great master of Johannine research, C. H. Dodd, explains why a solution to this riddle is so badly needed:

> In order to work towards a sound interpretation of the Fourth Gospel it is necessary to consider the work in its true context of thought, so far as that is possible for us at this date. If we approach it without regard to any such context, we are in danger of imposing upon it a subjective interpretation of our own. . . .[3]

A. On Liberation from the Hellenism/ Judaism Dichotomy

This statement by Dodd appears at the beginning of his Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel undoubtedly the most comprehensive attempt to date to solve the problem of the Gospel's cultural context. Throughout the past, scholars such as Dodd have attempted to solve it by appealing to parallels in content between the Fourth Gospel and other documents external to the Gospel itself. These scholars can be broadly divided into two groups.[4] On the one hand are those who have utilized comparisons between the Fourth Gospel and so-called Jewish sources, primarily the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the rabbinic materials, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.[5] On the other hand are those who have utilized comparisons between the Gospel of John and the so-called Greek or Hellenistic sources, e.g., the Greek philosophers (especially Plato and the Stoics), Philo, the Hermetic literature, the Mandaeans, Manicheans, and other Gnostics.[6]

As work has proceeded along the two divergent lines of Judaism and Hellenism, it has become obvious that the new sources or "parallels" uncovered and utilized were again and again rupturing the Jewish and Hellenistic categories or classifications. The most recent and exhaustive work, that of Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism in two volumes, demonstrates the futility of making a dichotomy between the two. Hengel writes:

> One fundamental presupposition of historical work on the New Testament which seems to be taken for granted is the differentiation, in terms of tradition, between "Judaism" on the one hand and "Hellenism" on the other. Distinctions are made between "Jewish apocalyptic" and "Hellenistic mysticism," between the "Jewish, rabbinic tradition," and "Hellenistic oriental gnosticism," between "Palestinian" and "Hellenistic" Judaism, between a "Palestinian" and a "Hellenistic" community. Investigations of particular concepts, above all, usually result in a separation of these two lines of tradition, which are often traced back into the Old Testament or to classical Greece. This unavoidable distinction does, of course, pass too lightly over the fact that by the time of Jesus,

> Palestine had already been under "Hellenistic" rule and its resultant cultural influence for some 360 years.[7]

Hengel goes on to show just how much Hellenism had completely saturated Palestinian Judaism long before the advent of Jesus.[8]

As every biblical scholar knows, this Judaism/Hellenism dichotomy was first advanced most strongly by F. C. Baur (1735-1860) and his disciples, E. Zeller, A. Schwegler, K. C. Planck, K. R. Köstlin, A. Ritschl, A. Hilgenfeld, and G. Volkmar, who composed the famous Tübingen School of biblical research in Germany (ca. 1835-1860).[9] It is also well known that in their creation of this dichotomy they were under the strong influence of the philosopher Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831). What is not well recognized is that Hegel's philosophy of history also saturated the secular historiography of that day and remains the basis for the majority of historical studies today.[10] It is so influential that it virtually condemns every practitioner of so-called "historical-literary criticism" to remain in the shadow of Hegel's influence.

The success of the Tübingen School's influence, and of its Hegelian concepts is shown by the fact that although today its conclusions are strongly repudiated by almost all biblical scholars, these Hellenistic/Jewish categories have continued to persist tenaciously despite every biblical scholar's ritualistic assertions to the contrary. Cullmann says:

> It is true that all modern historians who have to do with the New Testament are accustomed as a matter of

> principle to dissociate themselves from this [Tübingen] school. . . . Nevertheless, almost all modern scholars studying the origins of Christianity retain the general thesis of this school, according to which there were only two trends in primitive Christianity--Jewish-Christianity of the earliest time, located in Palestine, and Gentile-Christianity of later origin, located outside Palestine in the sphere of Hellenism.[11]

This Hellenistic/Jewish schema cannot be repudiated unless biblical scholars finally recognize the Hegelian trap into which they have fallen. Hence one of the goals of this work will be to demonstrate how Hegel's influence can be effectively diminished without entirely abandoning the goals and achievements of present-day biblical exegesis by lapsing into a purely aesthetic form of literary criticism.

Clearly it would be futile to use the same old evolutionary, diffusionist, historical methods. Making a fresh start, one could note that the one thing all these previous attempts have in common is that in every case, with the possible exception of efforts to argue for an Aramaic origin for John, all these various arguments were primarily based on comparisons between the Gospel of John and sources external to the Fourth Gospel. The question then arises: Is it possible to determine the context of a literary work from the work itself, including the canon in which it stands, without appealing to parallel sources which may be earlier or later than the work in question?

B. The Determination of the Cultural Context of a Literary Work by Structuralism

The argument will be presented that it is indeed possible to do so by structuralism and that this is really the only possible way "objectively" to determine the context of a literary work. In order to do this it is necessary to enter into a discussion of structural linguistics and the method of structural analysis which will be utilized hereafter.

It appears that with the advent of structuralism the promise has appeared of providing a true science of literature.[12] Furthermore, there is even the possibility of the creation of a scientific history removed from the shadow of Hegel![13] As Francois Bovon puts it, "The social sciences have pushed philosophy back against the wall,"[14] and thus the Barthian dream of a biblical exegesis without philosophical supports may yet come true. Indeed, it almost seems as if A. J. Greimas had Karl Barth in mind when he stated that this "revival of historical research" is fast approaching "the passage from the philosophy of history to the science of history."[15] As of yet, however, there is no certainty that these methods will ever be entirely able to reach the status of the so-called "hard" sciences, but if the study of literature even attains the status of the social or human sciences that would be far better than the present state of affairs.[16] Perhaps the philosophical "monkeys" (Hegel et al.) can soon be taken off the biblical exegete's back.[17]

C. A Short Introduction to Structuralism

The term "structuralism" has become so misused and popular that it is almost impossible to give a single satisfactory definition of the word.[18] Moreover, the so-called "method" of structural analysis is not yet even a method; it can best be described in the words of Roland Barthes as an "activity."[19]

1. Structural Analysis and Formgeschichte

Perhaps one could begin to define structural analysis by contrasting it with another method, one more familiar to biblical acholars, i.e., form criticism or Formgeschichte (which more precisely means the "history of forms"). The first apparent distinction is the difference between the two terms "form" and "structure." What is a "structure" and how does it differ from a "form" ("genre," "Gattung," or "type")? There is a great danger of over-simplification here, but the necessity for brevity necessitates some lack of precision.

The first differentiation to be made between these two terms concerns their various functions. On the one hand, a "form" is primarily a taxonomic category used to classify various oral or written literary conventions or traditions--e.g., pericopae, parables, legends, myths, apophthegms, etc.--and usually according to their contents, motifs, or apparent social functions. On the other hand, a "structure" is not a taxonomic category. In fact, several different genres can have the same or even "mirror" structures. As A. J. Greimas says, "Narrative structures are not to be confused with the so-called 'literary genres.'"[20] Structures are found in genres, but the opposite is not true. Structures are both smaller and larger units than genres. In fact, the whole class of genres itself can be defined as possessing a syntagmatic but not a paradigmatic structure. The concept of "structure" arose precisely because the terms "genre," "motif," "Gattung," "type," etc., were imprecise units of classification.[21] The term "structure" is not a classification unit. Instead it can be defined as a "model" used to describe interrelationships just like the one the nuclear scientist constructs of an atom or molecule in order to describe how all their pieces fit together. Ferdinand de Saussure, the father of modern structural linguistics and the grandfather of structuralism, never used the term "structure" at all; instead he referred to a "system."

Apparently the first usage of the term "structure" in a linguistic sense was at an international meeting of linguists in 1928. There the phrase, "structure of a system," appeared, meaning "the sum of the articulatory and semantic combinations drawn from the possibilities inherent to the system."[22] A modern definition of "structure" is the following:

> . . . a structure is an operational set with an indefinite signification (as opposed to an archetype which is a concrete set whose significance is not defined), that groups elements in any number, the content of which is not specified, and also relationships, in determinate numbers, the nature of which is not specified though their functions are defined, as well as their effect on the elements.[23]

From this "structural analysis" can be defined as follows:

> An analysis is structural if, and only if, it displays the content as a model, i.e., if it can isolate a formal set of elements and relations in terms of which it is possible to argue without entering upon the signification of the given content.[24]

A somewhat simpler definition of "structure," given by the folklorists Köngäs and Maranda, is the following: "Structure can be defined as the internal relationship through which constituent elements of a whole are organized. Structural analysis thus consists of the discovery of significant elements and their order."[25]

Note that a "structure" in a literary work is _not_ its outline.[26] One of the advantages of structural analysis is that it reduces the number of variables, and therefore, as in the case of John, the massive amount of material that must be taken into account. According to Lévi-Strauss:

> . . . if the facts themselves are much too complex to master, . . . the relations between the facts may be much simpler and, consequently, I think we have the possibility--I won't say to approach the natural sciences, for I think we'll never do that--but at least to introduce a little more rigor in our research. That is what structuralism has tried to do, to simplify the number of variables.[27]

Furthermore, structural analysis and _Formgeschichte_ can be distinguished by the fact that structural analysis is primarily a synchronic procedure, which does not exclude diachronic analysis, while Formgeschichte is primarily a historical or diachronic procedure (the terms diachronic and synchronic are discussed below).

2. A Short History of Structuralism

Before a final distinction between the terms "form" and "structure" can be given, it is necessary to give a brief introductory history of the rise of structuralism.

The "grandfather" of structuralism was the linguist of Geneva, Ferdinand de Saussure. Although, as has been noted, he himself never used the word "structure"--instead he spoke of a "system"--he made four binary distinctions which form the heart of later structuralist thought.[28]

First, Saussure made the well-known distinction between langue, the inherited, cultural linguistic system, and parole, the actual speeches, discourses, or narratives which appear in that langue. Second, Saussure distinguished between studying language diachronically--the study of the historical or evolutionary changes in language through time, and studying a language synchronically--the study of a language system and its relationships at a single point in time. Saussure asserted that only the latter approach can provide the basis for a science of linguistics. This does not mean that the structuralist or linguist is not interested in history (i.e., diachrony). What it means is that the linguist has discovered that diachrony is controlled by or subservient to synchrony. This can be shown by using as an analogy a game of chess, as Saussure himself first did. John Lyons has summarized it as follows:

> In the course of a game of chess the state of the board is constantly changing, but at any one time the state of the game can be fully described in terms of the

> positions occupied by the several pieces. It does not matter by what route (the number, nature or order of the moves) the players have arrived at the particular state of the game: this state is describable synchronically without reference to the previous moves. So it is with language, said de Saussure. All languages are constantly changing; and just as the state of the chess-board at some particular time can be described without reference to the particular combination of moves that has brought the game to that point, so can the successive, or socially and geographically delimited states of a language be described independently of one another.[29]

Hence one of Lévi-Strauss's favorite structuralist questions is: "How do you play this game?" i.e., what are the rules that control the "moves"?

Third, Saussure distinguished between any sign (or signifier) and the thing or object it signifies (the signified). The relationship between the two, he discovered, is completely arbitrary, i.e., every culture establishes its own langue, or grammar and lexicon, which every individual of that society must learn in order to communicate successfully. Along with this discovery comes the realization that words are defined only by the differences which exist between one word and others which could be substituted for it. In short, words do not possess meanings; they express only differences.[30] To return to the chess-board analogy, just as a chess piece has meaning only in its relationship to all the other pieces on the board, so in language a word is defined only in relationship to the context of all the other linguistic signs.

This leads to Saussure's fourth distinction--that between the syntagmatic axis and the paradigmatic axis. These two terms are to be related to the diachronic/synchronic schema and the discussion of langue and parole above. As Susan Wittig explains:

> . . . language acquires meaning along two axes of relationship: the syntagmatic or linear-temporal axis of unfolding speech, occurring in time; and the paradigmatic axis--non-linear, non-temporally ordered--of associative meaning. On the syntagmatic axis (the "axis of successions") signs have meaning by virtue of their opposition to the sign that precedes and the sign that follows in the syntactical chain. . . . On the paradigmatic axis (the "axis of simultaneity"), however, a sign has meaning by virtue of the fact that it enters into associative relations with all of the signs that might occur in the same syntagmatic context with it (that is, with a group of signs which are all structurally homologous).[31]

After Saussure came the Russian Formalists (1915-1930),[32] one of whom, Sergei Karcevski, was his student. This group was not interested in asking the traditional questions of literary criticism, e.g., Who wrote it? When? Why? Instead they asked questions such as, How is it constructed? What techniques are used to create it? What is literature? Two of the most important scholars of this group were Vladimir Propp, whose book The Morphology of the Folktale[33] is the basic foundation upon which all later literary structural analysis is based; and Roman Jakobson, who fled Russia, joined the famous linguistic circle at Prague,[34] and later immigrated to the United States where he and Claude Lévi-Strauss encountered one another. By a purely synchronic analysis Propp attempted to separate the constants, which he called "functions," from the variables in a corpus of

Russian fairytales. Propp discovered that while the number of motifs and individual characters of folktales are almost infinite, there were only seven basic roles played by the dramatis personae[35] and only 31 functions[36] which always occurred in the same syntagmatic sequence, although some of the functions may be missing and no single tale contains all the functions. Although his study was unsuccessful and marred by methodological problems, it provided the impetus for others, e.g., E. Meletinsky (who will be used extensively in this study), to work out a valid method of narrative structural analysis. The attempts continue today.[37]

Lévi-Strauss and Roman Jakobson met one another in the United States during the Second World War. From Jakobson, Lévi-Strauss received some exposure to Saussure, the Russian Formalists, and the Prague linguistic school; and he began to see the implications of utilizing linguistic, or more precisely semiological[38] techniques for the study of ethnology, especially in the realm of mythology. From this came the impetus for Lévi-Strauss's anthropological works. Among them is the second basic foundation of structural analysis in general, the article by Lévi-Strauss entitled "The Structural Study of Myth."[39]

Now these two foundations are not compatible in every respect, and therein lies one of the reasons for the confusion between the terms "structure" and "form." Indeed the present task of literary structuralists everywhere is to reconcile the differences between Propp and Lévi-Strauss.[40] With Propp being representative of Russian Formalism and Lévi-Strauss being the "father of structuralism," one can make a final important differentiation between "form" and "structure" by quoting from Lévi-Strauss's review of Propp's Morphology of the Folktale: "Form is defined by opposition to material other than itself. But structure has no distinct content; it is content itself, apprehended in a logical organization conceived as property of the real."[41]

3. Lévi-Strauss and Structuralism

Lévi-Strauss will be considered to be the basic "norm" for the so-called "structural analysis" to be presented here. The paradigm for this study will be Lévi-Strauss's structural analysis entitled "The Story of Asdiwal."[42] Propp will not be ignored, however, and much use will also be made of the work of his successors in the U.S.S.R., among them E. Meletinsky.[43] But for the type of structuralism employed here one agrees with the statement of J. M. Auzias, "Structuralism is Lévi-Strauss."[44] Hence this work will take a twofold approach. Differentiating literary structuralism, which "focuses on the work itself, its style, composition, etc.," from anthropological structuralism, "which is concerned with the relations between folklore and culture--a concern for the extent to which folklore is a 'mirror' to culture,"[45] this dissertation will primarily take the latter course. Nevertheless, an attempt will also be made to integrate Lévi-Strauss and Propp, as well as those of their structuralist progeny, especially Meletinsky.[46] Since it has been determined that the "spatial structures" of a narrative can only be revealed via a paradigmatic structural analysis, while "temporal structures" must be revealed via syntagmatic structural analysis,[47] this in itself demands that neither of the two be neglected, even though emphasis is placed on Lévi-Strauss.

4. Structuralism and the "Sitz im Leben"

From the discussion of signifier and signified above, it follows that words possess meaning only in a "context" or "system of relationships." Moreover, it was earlier observed that the possibility may exist of determining the context of a work from the work itself. Since biblical scholars are not completely familiar with the linguistic use of the term "context," it would be well to begin by comparing it with a term with which they are familiar, i.e., the Sitz im Leben. In the light of the science of linguistics, is the term "Sitz im Leben" still useful and meaningful, and what is the relationship between it and the term "context" which is used here?

In a recent article Roger Lapointe examines the question in detail.[48] After an initial examination of Hermann Gunkel's use of the term, since it was he who first coined it, Lapointe selects three linguistic terms which approximate the meaning of the term "Sitz im Leben" to some degree. These three terms are "situation," "referent," and "context." Thus the term "Sitz im Leben" may still be useful, although it must be recognized that it is not a true linguistic term and hence is technically imprecise. The same thing cannot be said of such terms as "provenance," "origin," "background," "world of thought," or "milieu," even though these terms have also been widely used by biblical scholars to describe the problem at hand.

To redefine the term "Sitz im Leben" in a modern linguistic sense it is necessary first to examine what appears to be the first, and apparently most equivalent, term in the linguist's vocabulary which holds some hope of rescuing the word "Sitz im Leben" from the semantic trash-can. That term is "situation"--the situation of a discourse. Lapointe, following the linguist L. J. Prieto, states that the term "situation" should be defined as "the collection of facts known by the receiver [of a message] at the moment of the semic [speech] act and independently of it."[49] The "situation" would then include the language code (the langue) which the speaker and hearer use to communicate with one another, and the circumstances at the time that each speaker speaks to his hearer(s). In the case of the Fourth Gospel, the "situation" would include everything present at the precise time that it was written except for the contents of the Gospel itself![50] This means that the situation is present only in oral communication, when the speaker and hearer are both physically present to one another.[51] Thus the term "situation" permits one to make a radical distinction between written and oral discourse.[52]

Roger Lapointe notes that "oral communication is situationally a great deal richer than written communication."[53] For in oral communication "paralinguistic elements" are present in the form of "gestures, mimics, tone of voice, attitudes, etc." which are impossible for the writer to duplicate completely. But writing can "verbally compensate for its situational deficiencies." It does so by describing "the circumstances which surrounded the discourse."[54]

The Gospel of John like other written works compensates for its lack of situation by means of what Lapointe calls "literary optics" (Roland Barthes uses the more precise linguistic term "index" to describe the same thing). First, there are topographical references to the places where Jesus preached, etc. (the mountains, the lake, Jerusalem, Galilee, Samaria, etc.). Secondly, there are references to the characters (dramatis personae) with whom Jesus communicated (the disciples, Pharisees, scribes, the Jews, priests, etc.). Thirdly, there are temporal references (before the death of John the Baptist, on Passover, at the Feast of Tabernacles, etc.).[55]

These literary optics are not to be confused with the "situation" itself, which lies outside the text, but they do compensate for the lack of a situation in written discourse. Hence in seeking the context of any written discourse, it is extremely important to consider these three "literary optics" or indices. Furthermore, a structural analysis of these "literary optics" holds the promise of providing one with a means of determining the best hypothetical "situation" of the Fourth Gospel on the basis of the Gospel itself without being forced to rely totally upon external "parallels."[56]

Before turning to a formal definition of "context" as it will be used in this work, it is necessary to discuss briefly the meaning of the word "referent" because like "situation" it is a component part of the term "context." Paul Ricoeur gives perhaps the simplest definition of "referent": " . . . to speak is to say something about something to somebody; . . . this 'about' designates the referent of the discourse."[57] Hence the "referent" belongs to reality and "it is constituted by the application of the sign (signifier--signified) to the surrounding reality."[58]

With the introduction of these two terms, "situation" and "referent," one can now finally turn to present a definition of the term "context" as it will be used henceforth. The term "context" is a much more comprehensive term than either "situation" or "referent," and to define it adequately is extremely difficult. According to Lapointe, with the linguist T. Slama-Cazacu as his authority, the context would include everything which contributes to determining the meaning. It would include "not only the extralinguistic themes of the referent or the linguistic code . . . but the discourse itself in so far as its different parts mutually clarify one another." Thus the context is not only "linguistic and discursive," but it is also "extralinguistic," either explicitly from the tone inferred or implicitly with respect to the question of "the elements which may belong in common to the speakers."[59]

Now what this means is that the context includes both the extralinguistic "situation" and "referent." In addition, it includes the relationship or "structure" present between the various parts of a text. Hence context includes both historical data or "facts," and the interrelationships which are present in the narrative itself. In other words, using Julia Kristeva's neologism, the context of a literary work is its "intertextuality,"[60] or its structural relationships with other texts.

Now biblical scholars are accustomed to differentiate between a nonlinguistic "historical context" outside of the text, and the intertextual immediate "literary context" created by the editor or redactor. This, however, is not a valid distinction for two reasons. First, one cannot merely classify a text as belonging to a certain genre, and, assuming that every genre has a specific situation, merely assign that situation to it. Written texts do not possess situations. Second, literary discourses do not have nonlinguistic contexts (cf. 1 Cor. 4:6--"Keep to what is written!"). This means there is only one context--the langue.

5. The Question of Authorial Intention

To show that there is only one context it is necessary to consider the question of "authorial intention." This is because those who posit the existence of a nonlinguistic context do so with the assumption that if one can only discover the historical situation in which the author wrote, then on the basis of this nonlinguistic "context" one can remove ambiguities in the text. The existence of this nonlinguistic context is based on the assumption that a text means what its author meant in composing it. The chief advocate of the theory of authorial intention is E. D. Hirsch in his Validity in Interpretation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

M. C. Beardsley has disproved this thesis effectively with three arguments. He argues, first: "Some texts . . . have been formed without the agency of an author, and hence without authorial meaning, nevertheless [they] have a meaning and can be interpreted." Here are two examples. First, a printer's, or, in the New Testament, a scribal error can change the meaning of the text from what the author originally intended. Second, computers can be filled with words and a grammar, and instructed to produce large numbers of sentences and texts, most but not all of which would be nonsense.[61]

Beardsley argues, second: "The meaning of a text can change after its author has died. But the author cannot change his meaning after he has died." Indeed the author cannot even change his meaning while he is still alive. What he has written, he has written. But his words change their meaning with the passing of time.[62]

Beardsley argues, third: "A text can have meanings that its author did not intend." This takes place, for example, when the author makes a "Freudian slip."[63] Hence the meaning of a text and the meaning which its author intended are not the same, and one cannot simply equate the narrator of a text with the author. In order to express this difference, literary structuralist critics often refer to two individuals being present in a text. First there is the "author" who actually wrote the text, and second there is the "narrator" who appears in the text using the first personal pronoun "I" or "We."[64] The result is that anyone who merely tries to transfer one to the other, or to use nonlinguistic contexts, is "doomed to failure."

Now one of the most interesting examples of this attempt with respect to the Gospel of John has been that of J. L. Martyn (History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel [New York: Harper & Row, 1968]). Martyn has attempted to argue that the Gospel of John is a "two-level drama." One level he calls the einmalig (meaning "Once upon a time . . . ," p. 9, n. 21); and material on this level he assumes to belong to Christian tradition. The second level, unnamed, he assumes to refer to actual events and "situations" present in the evangelist's own city.

Martyn expressly utilizes form criticism (see p. 3, n.7). Also his analysis seems to be based on a nonlinguistic context, the birkath ha-minim decree and synagogal ban. The result is a kind of circular reasoning which neglects the possibility, for example, that other groups, such as the Samaritans, may have had synagogues at the time of Jesus. Finally, Martyn's method can be described as a type of "Lansonianism" (i.e., where "the details of a given work must resemble the details of the author's life").[65] It is interesting, however, that Martyn does utilize one structuralist technique, i.e., the folklorist rule that "no more than two active characters shall normally appear on stage at one time, and that scenes are often divided by adherence to this rule."[66]

Instead of following this procedure, the present work will not attempt "to probe the narrator's motives or measure the effects the narration may have on the reader, but rather to describe the code[s] through which the narrator's and reader's presence can be detected within the narrative itself."[67] Some examples are the onomastic, geographical, socio-economic, political, historical, and religious codes.[68]

6. The Code of "Shifters"

In addition, there is a very interesting code of what are called "shifters," or the pronominal and onomastic (i.e., referring to proper names) structures of a narrative. "Shifters" can be defined as "those parts of speech through which the individual accedes to language, the two best examples of this being proper names and personal pronouns."[69] Shifters may also be defined as the parts of language "which mark the transitions into and out of the sui-referential mode."[70]

Biblical scholars are somewhat familiar with the code of "shifters," although this technical term is probably unknown to most of them. For example, there is the appearance of the first personal pronouns "we" in Acts, and the multitude of studies which have appeared on the premise that at these points the narrator is referring to events which he personally knows.[71] But this phenomenon is a bit more complex than biblical scholars have realized. In structural linguistics the problem of "shifters" forms an important part of the concept "point of view," which can also be described as the opposition of two pronouns, "I" (the narrator) and "You" (the reader). Moreover, this phenomenon is present in both fictional and historical texts. Hence it is not even necessary to assume that Acts, or in the case of the book under study, John, is a historical work, for even the narrator of a purely fictional work, perhaps more so than a historian, reveals information about himself without knowing it. This is so important that it needs to be discussed in greater detail.

Todorov, one of the three most important French literary structuralists (the other two being Roland Barthes and A. J. Greimas), has made an intensive study of the "point of view" in literature. He discovered that there are three possible "points of view" according to whether the narrator has more knowledge, equal knowledge, or less knowledge than his characters. The first possibility he calls la vision "par derrière," or what is known in American literary criticism as the "omniscient point of view."

The narrator telling the story essentially assumes the position of God--he knows more than his characters, and knows everything that has and will happen. He can even read his characters' minds. The second possible point of view is called la vision "avec," which can be translated as a "limited point of view." The narrator knows only what his characters know--he does not know what will happen in the future before his characters know it. The third possible point of view is called la vision "du dehors"; a term for which there is no acceptable English equivalent. This last narrative technique is almost exclusively confined to modern literature. The narrator knows less than his characters. Things take place and people act, but everything appears meaningless or mysterious. The narrator does not say whether his characters are good or bad, friends or enemies, or even whether they know one another.[72]

The point of view of a single narrative can change from one to another of these possibilities; and the "shifts" produce effects which can even enable one to differentiate historical from fictional discourse.[73] This phenomenon also gives the reader some very useful information about the narrator, and the readers or audience the narrator has assumed for his work. This arises from the fact that the position of the narrator (the pronoun "I") automatically presupposes the existence of the reader (the pronoun "you"). In other words, merely by reading a work one enters into a special relationship with the narrator who to some extent "manipulates" his readers by the way he "structures" his work, e.g., those whom he chooses as heroes and villains, and what he assumes to be known by his readers. In this way the narrator reveals the extralinguistic referent he takes to exist between himself and his readers by what he feels necessary to explain. According to Barthes:

> Thus each time the narrator stops "representing" and reports facts which he knows perfectly well, though they are unknown to the reader, there occurs, through a suspension of the meaningful dimension, a sign of the reader, for there would not be much sense in the narrator's giving himself information.[74]

Thus one can say that the "point of view" and narrative perspective "are matters of the relation between audience and narrator and hence, as Barthes says, [they are] a bridge to outside reality."[75]

John Crossan gives two very good examples of this phenomenon when he writes:

> (i) What does the opening, "A traveller and a Negro met on a train," tell one about the narrator: (ii) In a film about a fight between a U.S. destroyer and a German submarine does the narrator's position show differently if it is entitled, "The Enemies" (neutral?), or "The Enemy Above" (pro-German), or as it actually was, "The Enemy Below" (pro-U.S.)? And, by the way, does my sequence of "a U.S. destroyer and a German submarine" in that order say anything about my position?[76]

Crossan's first example is most interesting in that it contains an ethnic reference ("Negro") now recognized as belonging to the category of what folklorists call a "blason populaire," or in more common language, an "ethnic slur." Crossan suggests that such an ethnic slur permits the interpreter to infer that the narrator is not a "Negro." Research in the area of folklore has produced some rules and technical terms to describe in more detail what is happening here. In general it has been discovered that folklore has the function of uniting the social group or culture in which it is preserved. Fischer writes:

> It has been recognized for sometime . . . that one of the principal ways of uniting a group with partly diverse interests is to call attention to a common enemy, in other words, to favorably contrast the group to be strengthened with other groups. The gap is increased between the group in question and a foreign group as the "price" for strengthening the former. . . . In general, the self-aggrandizement of a special interest group within a society will be more restrained than the self-aggrandizement of the whole society. Members of other groups within the society will be depicted as somewhat inferior or misguided humans, while members of other societies may be depicted quite literally as devils or monsters.[77]

Thus if the reader can merely identify and classify the characters of a discourse into protagonists and antagonists, and all the characters can be so divided with the exception of true mediators,[78] he can to a great extent determine the narrator's extralinguistic "situation." One of the achievements of literary structural analysis is its ability to do this in a very objective manner, whether the narrative is fiction or history.[79] "The point is that both on an intra- and inter-group level, a given group [or culture] has traditional rivals, enemies, and/or scapegoats about whom it has traditions." That statement comes from a folklorist, William H. Jansen, who has made a special study of what he calls the "esoteric-exoteric factor in folklore."[80]

The New Testament scholar will immediately think of many possible uses for these concepts in studying the relationships between the Jews and Samaritans, or the Judeans and Galileans, which appear in the Gospels of Luke and John. Similarly, the Old Testament scholar can use them in studying the tensions between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, or even the divisions among the kings, prophets, and priests. More will be said about such relationships in future chapters. Indeed it will be argued that the Gospel of John is filled with these esoteric and exoteric factors which, when properly interpreted, permit the reader to discern the cultural context of John to a large extent from within the Gospel itself. Anthropologists have found the use of the pronouns "we" and "they" (or those parts of speech which have the same functions as these pronouns) to be highly significant for differentiating cultural groups from one another. Does the author or narrator by their use of "we" and "they" subconsciously reveal their cultural groups?

It is now possible to define the term "culture" as it will be used in this work. The problem of a suitable definition of the word has plagued sociologists and anthropologists for decades. To go into these debates would be relatively useless for the task at hand. Here, defined in very simplistic terms, "culture" means the various ways and means by which one group of persons differentiates itself from nature, e.g., the animals, and other groups of men, or the "we" versus "they" phenomenon mentioned above.[81] Moreover, culture can be defined in a structuralist sense as a collection of conscious and unconscious models which an individual uses to classify or organize the world around him.[82]

In both so-called primitive and modern societies many different signs and significations can be used as a means to express these "contrasts" and "oppositions" or as a "means to express differences between men."[83] As was pointed out earlier, there are especially four intra-textual elements which can be used to recover the "cultural context" of John from the work itself. They are: first, the topographical references; second, the roles played by the characters of the story; third, the temporal references (these first three being the "literary optics" of Lapointe); and fourth, the shifters or pronominal structures of a work, which are of course related to the roles played by the characters.

D. Structuralism and the Solution of the Johannine Problem

One can see the relevance of this prior discussion for the present study of the Gospel of John by examining some of the questions and problems that have plagued biblical scholars over the decades.

The most problematical *dramatis personae* in the Fourth Gospel are undoubtedly "the Jews."[84] Since "the term 'the Jews' is found overwhelmingly in polemical contexts," many scholars have been led to argue a Gentile cultural context for the Gospel.[85] On the other hand, since numerous Jewish motifs appear in the Gospel, other scholars have agreed with J. B. Lightfoot that John is "the most Hebraic book in the New Testament, except perhaps the Apocalypse."[86] Can this dispute be resolved by utilizing at least two of the techniques described above, the "shifters" (or pronominal structures), and the narrator's choice of protagonists and antagonists?

In addition to the question of "the Jews," there appears to be present in John a geographical opposition between Judea and Galilee (see Jn. 1:46; 4:44f.; 7:41,52). Furthermore, there is an interesting difference between John and the Synoptics over the itinerary of Jesus; e.g., in John he spends more time in Southern Palestine as opposed to Galilee than he does in the Synoptic Gospels; and the narrator of John appears to have what some call an "eyewitness" knowledge of Southern Palestine.[87] Connected with these problems are the questions about Jesus' "homeland" as referred to in Jn. 4:44, and "his own" as referred to in Jn. 1:11. The former passage especially has raised many difficulties. Can a study of the topographical structures in John help one to solve them?

There is also the question of the temporal structures present in the Gospel. These can also reveal much information about the position of the narrator to the events which he is relating. Especially interesting in this respect and also included in the category of "shifters," is what Roland Barthes calls the "friction between two time-scales--history's and the history book's." In other words, "the same number of pages . . . covers quite different periods of historical time." For instance there is the temporal phenomenon of "acceleration"--the historian will write more about events nearer to his own time than about events in a more distant past.[88] This is not the place to go into an extensive discussion of the other temporal structures in historical narratives, which, moreover, have not been thoroughly explored, but for the moment this example indicates the importance of examining the temporal organization of John.

Another problem concerns the relationship between the Gospel of John and the city of Ephesus. As is well known, the Early Church Fathers were almost unanimous in naming Ephesus as the place where the Gospel of John was written. On that point, however, the interpreter is forced to consider literature outside of the Fourth Gospel since the name Ephesus appears nowhere in the Gospel itself.[89]

Finally, it should be noted that the structural studies will be supplemented with examinations and evaluations of prior historical studies, and some new historical studies of our own will be presented as well. This is necessary because, as was said earlier, a complete method of narrative structural analysis is still in the process of being created. Therefore we shall pose historical problems and attempt to solve them by utilizing an amalgam of structuralist and historical methodologies.[90]

E. The Thesis to be Defended

This brings one to the actual thesis or hypothesis to be defended. It is that the Gospel of John is best understood in the context of Samaritan culture. Perhaps it was originally written as a result of the Apostle John's missionary work in Samaria (see Acts 8:14-25). Although this work is not a study of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, its conclusions could lead one to infer that if John was not written by the Apostle himself, then perhaps it was written by someone in the Samaritan Christian community in connection with John's and especially Philip's work in Samaria. Thus although the goal of the thesis is to identify firmly the culture in which the Gospel of John originated, this will not prevent it, however, from attempting to answer some other questions about John.

What is interesting about this thesis is that almost all the historical evidence can be fitted into it with minor modifications. Taking the Mandaean Gnostic hypothesis (which will not be defended here), and assuming that Bultmann and his followers are correct in everything they argue (an extremely comprehensive assumption), the Mandaeans would be traced back to some of the disciples of John the Baptist. Moreover, the Bultmannians assume the Mandaeans ultimately originated somewhere in Palestine, which was connected with John the Baptist and his disciples. Then if one accepts Albright's and Boismard's arguments that Aenon near Salim where the Baptist worked (Jn. 3:23) is in Samaria,[91] this would lead right back to Samaria. Moreover, the Early Church Fathers were unanimous in their belief that Gnosticism began in Samaria. Furthermore, there is yet another tradition which also places the Baptist and his disciples in Samaria and in a close relationship with the two Samaritan heretics whom the Church Fathers considered to be the originators of Gnosticism (*Ps. Clementine Homilies* II,23,24; *Recognitions* II,8). There is even a tradition that John the Baptist was buried in Samaria by his disciples.[92] On the other hand, taking the Qumran or Essene context of John's Gospel, there is evidence that the Essenes were closely connected with the Samaritans and that there was even a *Samaritan* Essene sect![93] Alexandria, which has also been proposed, can also be connected to Samaria by the fact that there were many Samaritans in Alexandria as well (Josephus, *Ant*. XIII, 3,4).

The hypothesis of the Ephesian origin of John also leads one directly back to Samaria. At least B. W. Bacon, who thoroughly investigated it, has come to that conclusion. An integral part of the thesis to be presented here is that Bacon is correct when he states that the Fourth Gospel was taken by the family of Philip the Evangelist to Ephesus.[94] Hence one might say that regardless of where one begins all roads seem to lead back to Samaria.

It must be acknowledged that the thesis which this dissertation will attempt to prove is not new. In particular, Samaria as a cultural context for John has been strongly defended by John Bowman,[95] who later abandoned it,[96] and by George W. Buchanan, E. D. Freed, W. A. Meeks, and C. H. H. Scobie.[97] Furthermore, this is not the first attempt to apply structural analysis to this problem. In particular, a recent work by Birger Olsson (The Structure and Meaning in the Fourth Gospel [Lund: Gleerup, 1974]) has appeared with perhaps the most similar attempt to work along the lines set forth here. However, while Olsson utilizes a German "textlinguistisch" approach and rejects the French structuralist method as being too internal, we shall not consider the German structuralists in order to concentrate on a more anthropological and folkloristic structuralist approach. Utilizing Russian, American, and French structural folkloristics and anthropology, we hope to discredit Olsson's conception of French structural analysis.

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NOTES--CHAPTER I

[1] Adolf von Harnack, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, 5th ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1931), I, p. 308.

[2] Harold S. Songer, "The Gospel of John in Recent Research," Review and Expositor 62 (1965):424.

[3] C. H. Dodd, Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 4. Italics added.

[4] Songer, "The Gospel of John," p. 424.

[5] E.g., C. F. Burney, The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel (London: Clarendon Press, 1922); W. F. Albright, "Some Observations Favoring the Palestinian Origin of the Gospel of John," HTR 17 (1924):189-195; C. C. Torrey, The Four Gospels (New York: Harper and Row, 1933); idem, Our Translated Gospels (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936); Adolf Schlatter, Die Sprache und Heimat des vierten Evangelisten (Gutersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1902); idem, Der Evangelist Johannes, wie er spricht, denkt und glaubt (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1930); K. G. Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament," ZTK 47 (1950):192-211; L. Mowry, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Background for the Gospel of John," Biblical Archaeologist 17 (1954):78-97; E. L. Allen, "The Jewish Christian Church in the Fourth Gospel," JBL 74 (1955):88-92; Ethelbert Stauffer, "Probleme der Priestertradition," Theologische Literaturzeitung 81 (1956):135-150; O. Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," JBL 74 (1955):213-226; T. E. Pollard, "The Fourth Gospel: Its Background and Early Interpretation," Australian Biblical Review 7 (1959):41-53; J. A. T. Robinson, "The Destination and Purpose of St. John's Gospel," NTS 6 (1959-60):117-131; F. F. Bruce, "Qumran and the New Testament," Faith and Thought 90 (1958):92-102; W. F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St. John," The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, eds. W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 153-171; F. Pack, "The Gospel of John in the Twentieth Century," Restoration Quarterly 7 (1963):173-185; G. A. Turner, "The Date and Purpose of the Gospel by John," Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society 6 (1963):82-85; R. Schnackenburg, "On the Origin of the Fourth Gospel," Perspective 11 (1970):223-246; and many others.

[6] B. H. Streeter, "John, Mystic and Prophet," in his The Four Gospels (New York: Macmillan, 1925), pp. 365-374, 383-389; M. E. Lyman, "Hermetic Religion and the Religion of the Fourth Gospel," JBL 49 (1930):265-276; V. Taylor, "The Mandaeans and the Fourth Gospel," Hibbert Journal 28 (1929-30):531-546; E. Russell, "Possible Influence of the Mysteries on the Form and Interrelation of the Johannine Writings," JBL 51 (1932):336-351; R. Bultmann, The Gospel of John, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray et al. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971); A. M. Perry, "Is John an Alexandrian Gospel?" JBL 63 (1944):99-106; R. M. Grant, "The Origin of the Fourth Gospel," JBL 69 (1950):305-322; R. McL. Wilson, "Philo and the Fourth Gospel," Expository Times 65 (1953):47-49; C. H. Dodd, Interpretation; C. K. Barrett, The Gospel according to St. John (London: S.P.C.K., 1956); R. McL. Wilson, "The Fourth Gospel and Hellenistic Thought," Novum Testamentum 1 (1956):225-227; F. C. Grant, "The Historical Element in the Fourth Gospel," Religion in Life 28 (1958-59):56-67; and many others.

[7] Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), vol. I, p. 1. Italics added.

[8] For another scholar with a similar thesis, see S. Liebermann, Hellenism in Jewish Palestine (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950).

[9] An excellent recent work on the history of this school, its writings, and its members is by Horton Harris, The Tübingen School (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

[10] This will be discussed in detail in chap. III, especially in the context of an important debate between C. Lévi-Strauss and J. P. Sartre.

[11] Oscar Cullmann, "A New Approach to the Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel--I," Expository Times 71 (1959-60):8.

[12] See on this T. Todorov, "Structural Analysis of Narrative," Modern Literary Criticism, eds. L. I. Lipking and A. W. Litz (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 436-441, esp. p. 438; L. Bersani, "Is There a Science of Literature?" Partisan Review 39 (1972):535-553.

[13] See Roberto Miguelez, "Le récit historique: légalité et signification," Semiotica 3 (1971):20-36; Michel de Certeau, L'écriture de histoire (Paris: Gallimard, 1974); and Roland Barthes, "Historical Discourse," Introduction to Structuralism, ed. M. Lane (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 145-155.

[14] F. Bovon, "French Structuralism and Biblical Exegesis," Structural Analysis and Biblical Exegesis by R. Barthes et al., trans. A. M. Johnson, Jr. (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1974), p. 4.

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[15] A. J. Greimas, "Structure et histoire," Les Temps Modernes 22 (1966):826. Our translation.

[16] Cf. C. Lévi-Strauss, "Criteria of Science in the Social and Human Disciplines," International Social Science Journal 16 (1964):534-552, esp. p. 544: " . . . it may be said that stylistics and textual criticism are now acquiring the status of exact sciences."

[17] For a somewhat different expression of this idea, see F. Bovon, "French Structuralism and Biblical Exegesis," p. 20.

[18] On the impossibility of defining structuralism because it has become a fashionable term, see J. Pouillon, "Présentation: un essai de définition," Les Temps Modernes 22 (1966):769; C. Galland, "An Introduction to the Method of A. J. Greimas," The New Testament and Structuralism, ed. A. M. Johnson, Jr. (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1976), p. 1; and R. N. Soulen, "Structuralism," Handbook of Biblical Criticism (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1976), pp. 154-155.

[19] R. Barthes, "The Structuralist Activity," Partisan Review 34 (1967):83-88.

[20] For example, the same narrative structure can be found in a novel or a play. See A. J. Greimas, "Narrative Grammar: Units and Levels," Modern Language Notes 86 (1971):793. See also N. Petersen, "On the Notion of Genre in Via's 'Parable and Example Story: A Literary-Structuralist Approach,'" Semeia 1 (1974):134-173, esp. pp. 138, 166 n.5.

[21] See V. Propp, "On the History of the Problem," in his Morphology of the Folktale, trans. Laurence Scott, 2nd ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), pp. 3-18.

[22] R. Lapointe, "Hermeneutics Today," Biblical Theology Bulletin 2 (1972):120-121.

[23] Jean-Marie Benoist, "The End of Structuralsim," Twentieth Century Studies 3 (1970):36.

[24] Ibid.

[25] E.-K. Köngäs and P. Maranda, "Structural Models in Folklore," Midwest Folklore 12 (1962):135.

[26] A. G. Wright, "The Riddle of the Sphinx: The Structure of the Book of Qoheleth," CBQ 30 (1968):318-319.

[27] Quote from C. Lévi-Strauss in an interview with J. Hess, "The Mythical Lévi-Strauss," The New York Times Book Review, 20 February 1972, p. 2.

[28] For an extensive discussion of these oppositional terms and others which form the foundations for the structuralist approach, see Ferdinand de Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, trans. Wade Baskin, eds. C. Bally and A. Sechehaye (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966).

[29] John Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 46.

[30] Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, p. 120.

[31] Susan Wittig, "The Historical Development of Structuralism," Soundings 58 (1975):147.

[32] On this school, see L. T. Lemon and M. J. Reis (eds. and trans.), Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965); and for a statement of their working hypotheses, see R. Jakobson and J. Tynyanov, "Problems of Literary and Linguistic Studies," New Left Review 37 (1966):59-62.

[33] V. Propp's Morphology of the Folktale was first published in Russian in 1928 (Morfologija skazki [Leningrad: Akademia, 1928]). It was first translated into English in 1958 in the International Journal of American Linguistics 24 (October 1958), Publication Ten of the Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics, pp. x-134. Some significant changes and corrections were made by the translators and editors in the second edition (Morphology of the Folktale, 2nd ed. [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968]).

[34] Perhaps one of the best works on this school is the following: Paul Garvin (ed. and trans.), A Prague School Reader on Esthetics, Literary Structure and Style (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1964).

[35] These seven dramatis personae are as follows: (1) the princess or the father, (2) the hero, (3) the dispatcher or mandator, (4) the villain, (5) the donor, (6) the helper, and (7) the false hero (see Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, 2nd ed., pp. 79-83.

[36] The thirty-one functions are in order the following: (1) absentation, (2) interdiction, (3) violation, (4) reconnaissance, (5) delivery, (6) trickery, (7) complicity, (8) villainy, (9) mediation, (10) beginning counteraction, (11) departure, (12) first function of the donor, (13) hero's reaction, (14) receipt of the magical agent, (15) spatial transference, (16) struggle,

(17) branding or marking, (18) victory, (19) lack liquidated, (20) return, (21) pursuit, (22) rescue, (23) unrecognized arrival, (24) unfounded claims, (25) difficult task, (26) solution, (27) recognition, (28) exposure, (29) transfiguration, (30) punishment, (31) wedding. See on these "functions," Propp, Morphology, 2nd ed., pp. 25-65.

[37] Among those involved in these attempts, the following should be especially noted: the French scholars, A. J. Greimas (Sémantique structurale [Paris: Larousse, 1966]; idem, Du sens [Paris: Seuil, 1970]); R. Barthes ("An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative," New Literary History 6 [1975]: 237-272; idem, "L'analyse structurale du récit: A propos Actes 10 et 11," Recherches de Science Religieuses 58 [1970]:17-37); C. Bremond (Logique de recit [Paris: Seuil, 1973]); T. Todorov (Théorie de la Littérature [Paris: Seuil, 1965]); G. Genette (Figures I-III [Paris: Seuil, 1966-1972]); and the contemporary Russian scholars at Tartu, U.S.S.R., perhaps best represented by E. M. Meletinsky ("Structural-Typological Study of the Folktale," Genre 4 [1971]:249-279).

[38] For a good brief introduction to semiology, the science of signs, see Pierre Guiraud, Semiology, trans. G. Gross (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

[39] C. Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," Journal of American Folklore 68 (1955):428-444.

[40] For a discussion of this point, see A. J. Greimas, "Narrative Grammar: Units and Levels," pp. 796-797.

[41] C. Lévi-Strauss, "Structure and Form: Reflections on a Work by Vladimir Propp," Structural Anthropology Vol. II, trans. Monique Layton (New York: Basic Books, 1976), p. 115.

[42] See C. Lévi-Strauss, "The Story of Asdiwal," The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism, ed. E. Leach (London: Tavistock, 1967), pp. 1-48.

[43] See in addition to the article by Meletinsky mentioned in n.37 above, idem, "Problem of the Historical Morphology of the Folktale," Soviet Structural Folkloristics, Vol. I, ed. P. Maranda (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), pp. 53-59; idem, et al., "Problems of the Structural Analysis of Fairytales," ibid., pp. 73-139; and idem and D. Segal, "Structuralism and Semiotics in the U.S.S.R.," Diogenes 73 (1971):88-115.

[44] J. M. Auzias, Clefs pour le structuralisme, 2nd ed. (Paris: Seghers, 1972), p. 11.

[45] See William O. Hendricks, "Folklore and the Structural Analysis of Literary Texts," Language and Style 3 (1970):104.

[46] See n. 43 above.

[47] Hendricks, "Folklore and the Structural Analysis," p. 111.

[48] R. Lapointe, "La valeur linguistique du Sitz im Leben," Biblica 52 (1971):469-487.

[49] Ibid., p. 478. See also L. J Prieto, Messages et signaux (Paris: P.U.F., 1966), Part 2, chap. II; and idem, Principes de Noologie, (The Hague: Mouton, 1964), p. 36, on the "situation."

[50] Lapointe, "La valeur," p. 478.

[51] See especially the discussion of this point in George Dickie, "Meaning and Intention," Genre 1 (1968):182-189, esp. p. 186.

[52] See Paul Ricoeur, "What is a Text? Explanation and Interpretation," Mythic Symbolic Language and Philosophical Anthropology, ed. D. M. Rasmussen (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1971), p. 138.

[53] Lapointe, "La valeur," p. 480.

[54] Ibid., pp. 480-481.

[55] Ibid., p. 481.

[56] Although "parallels" will be used in this study, they will be utilized in a different manner than is customary. We will use them to determine and test the classificatory "cultural structures" to be utilized.

[57] Ricoeur, "What is a Text?" p. 137.

[58] Lapointe, "La valeur," p. 475.

[59] Ibid., p. 483.

[60] On J. Kristeva's "intertextuality" see her Semeiotike: Recherches pour une sémanalyse (Paris: Seuil, 1969).

[61] M. C. Beardsley, "Textual Meaning and Authorial Meaning," Genre 1 (1968):174.

[62] Ibid., p. 175.

[63] Ibid., p. 177.

[64] This difference may be explained by saying that the author is the ultimate designer of the written narrative. He is the one who decides whether there will be a narrator in it or not and how prominent his or her presence will be. There is no difference between the two in the case of oral narratives. See T. A. van Dijk, "On the Foundations of Poetics," Poetics 5 (1972):89ff.; and E. Donato, "The Shape of Fiction: Notes Towards a Possible Classification of Narrative Discourse," Modern Language Notes 86 (1971):811.

[65] "Lansonianism" is a term coined by R. Barthes from the name of one of his French literary critics, Gustave Lanson. See R. Barthes, "Criticism as Language," Modern Literary Criticism, eds. L. I. Lipking and A. W. Litz, p. 433.

[66] Martyn, History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel, p. 6. This rule actually originated from Axel Olrik, "Epische Gesetze der Volksdichtung," Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur 51 (1909):1-12. Martyn obtained it, however, from R. Bultmann who was influenced by Olrik (see W. G. Doty, "Linguistics and Biblical Criticism," Journal of the American Academy of Religion 41 [1973]:117 n.7).

[67] R. Barthes, "Introduction to the Structural Analysis," p. 260.

[68] On these codes see R. Barthes, S/Z, trans. R. Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), pp. 18-20.

[69] E. Donato, "Of Structuralism and Literature," Modern Language Notes 82 (1967):557.

[70] Barthes, "Historical Discourse," p. 146.

[71] For example, see E. Haenchen, "'We' in Acts and the Itinerary," Journal for Theology and the Church 1 (1965):65-99.

[72] S. Chatman, "New Ways of Analyzing Narrative Structure with an Example from Joyce's Dubliners," Language and Style 2 (1969):31.

[73] See R. Barthes, "Historical Discourse," pp. 146ff.

[74] Barthes, "Introduction to the Structural Analysis," p. 260.

[75] Chatman, "New Ways," p. 35.

[76] J. D. Crossan, "Structuralist Analysis and the Parables of Jesus," Semeia 1 (1974):197.

[77] J. L. Fischer, "The Sociopsychological Analysis of Folktales," Current Anthropology 4 (1963):260.

[78] William O. Hendricks, "Folklore and the Structural Analysis of Literary Texts," p. 108.

[79] As Barthes notes, it is actually much easier to do this if the narrative in question is fiction, since one of the characteristics of historical narration is that the narrator attempts to conceal his presence in order to make his narrative more "objective" and believable (see R. Barthes, "Historical Discourse," pp. 148-149).

[80] W. H. Jansen, "The Esoteric-Exoteric Factor in Folklore," The Study of Folklore, ed. A. Dundes (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 45-46. Jansen defines the "esoteric" as what one group thinks of itself and what it supposes others think of it. The "exoteric" is what one group thinks of another, and what it thinks that other group thinks it thinks.

[81] For several different definitions of "culture" see William R. Bascom, "Folklore and Anthropology," The Study of Folklore, ed. A. Dundes (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 27ff.

[82] See Harold W. Scheffler, "Structuralism in Anthropology," Structuralism, ed. J. Ehrmann (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970), pp. 56-57.

[83] C. Lévi-Strauss, "The Bear and the Barber," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 93 (1963):1-11, esp. p. 2.

[84] See, for example, the following articles: D. M. Crossan, "Anti-Semitism and the Gospel," Theological Studies 26 (1965): 189-214; G. J. Cuming, "The Jews in the Fourth Gospel," Expository Times 60 (1948-49):290-292; F. A. Evelyn, "The Supra-Racial Gospel," Expository Times 49 (1937-38):419-421; G. A. F. Knight, "Antisemitism in the Fourth Gospel," Reformed Theological Review 27 (1968):81-88; J. R. Michaels, "Alleged Anti-Semitism in the Fourth Gospel," Gordon Review 11 (1968):12-24; G. G. O'Collins, "Anti-Semitism in the Gospel," Theological Studies 26 (1965): 663-666; M. H. Shepherd, Jr., "The Jews in the Gospel of John, Another Level of Meaning," Anglical Theological Review, supp. ser., No. 3 (March 1974):95-112; W. W. Sikes, "The Anti-Semitism of the Fourth Gospel," Journal of Religion 21 (1941):23-30; B. Vawter,

"Are the Gospels Anti-Semitic?" Journal of Ecumenical Studies 5 (1968):473-487; J. Vink, "A Note on 'The Jews' of St. John's Gospel," Life of the Spirit 15 (1960):258-260.

[85] See J. A. T. Robinson, "The Destination and Purpose of St. John's Gospel," in his Twelve New Testament Studies (Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1962), pp. 108ff., for a discussion of this position.

[86] J. B. Lightfoot, Biblical Essays (London: Macmillan, 1893), p. 135.

[87] See among others, Karl Kundsin, Topologische Überlieferungstoffe im Johannesevangelium (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925); R. H. Lightfoot, Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937); Ernst Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936); C. Lattey, "St. John the Evangelist's Home Circle," CBQ 15 (1953): 2-10; and W. F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine," pp. 153-171.

[88] Barthes, "Historical Discourse," p. 147.

[89] For our observations concerning the relationship between the Fourth Gospel and Ephesus, see our article: "Philip the Evangelist and the Gospel of John," Abr-Nahrain 16 (1975-76):49-72.

[90] H. Gardner, The Quest for Mind (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), pp. 15-47, esp. pp. 23-26.

[91] W. F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries," p. 159.

[92] So Theodoret (393-457 A.D.) in his Eccl. Hist., III, 7 (Migne, P.G.82, col. 1091). See also A. Parrot, Samaria, the Capital of the Kingdom of Israel (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), pp. 122-127; and C. H. H. Scobie, John the Baptist (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), pp. 176-177.

[93] So Epiphanius, Pan.I,1,8,9 (P.G.41,col.221). See J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1907), p. 263; and John Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, trans. A. M. Johnson, Jr. (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1975), chap. IV.

[94] B. W. Bacon, The Gospel of the Hellenists, ed. C. H. Kraeling (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1933), pp. 22-23.

[95] J. Bowman, "Samaritan Studies I: The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans," BJRL 40 (1958):298-308.

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[96] Bowman pursues an entirely different thesis in his The Fourth Gospel and the Jews (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1975).

[97] G. W. Buchanan, "The Samaritan Origin of the Gospel of John," Religions in Antiquity, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1968), pp. 149-175; E. D. Freed, "Did John Write His Gospel Partly to Win Samaritan Converts?" Novum Testamentum 12 (1970): 241-256; W. A. Meeks, The Prophet-King (Leiden: Brill, 1967); and C. H. H. Scobie, "The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity," NTS 19 (1973):390-414.

CHAPTER II

CURRENT RESEARCH ON THE PROBLEM

Due to the great variety of often conflicting backgrounds, milieus, and interpretations based on various contextual assumptions suggested for the Fourth Gospel, it is apparent that the Gospel of John possesses a great deal of plurivocity, which simply means that the text is open to a wide variety of many different readings and interpretations. The exegete hopes to remove much of this plurivocity by attempting to discover what the Gospel may have originally meant to its author and readers. Hence the question of where it was written is not as insignificant as many exegetes assume. Through the centuries primarily three possible answers have been supported by exegetes. This chapter will survey them in order to approach the question anew.

A. Non-Palestinian Sites Proposed for the Origin of John

1. Ephesus

It is well known that the traditions of the Early Church were almost unanimous in affirming that the Fourth Gospel was written in Ephesus by the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee, in his old age. For the moment it is enough to give a sampling of the various arguments for an Ephesian origin used in recent years by biblical scholars.

C. K. Barrett, writing in 1956, selected Ephesus as "the best choice because of the residue of weight in the Irenaeus tradition."[1] Barrett added that there are "traces" of the Fourth Gospel in "Melito of Sardis and Leucius Charinus, the author of the Leucian Acts of John,"[2] both of whom lived in Asia Minor. Moreover, Barrett noted the presence of Gnostics in the Lycus valley, as shown by Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, and also the presence of disciples of John the Baptist in Ephesus (Acts 19:1-3). Finally, Barrett cited the Early Church traditions about the Apostle John writing his Gospel in Ephesus.[3]

The same year Ethelbert Stauffer asserted a slightly modified Ephesian locale for the Gospel of John. According to Stauffer, although the prologue of the Fourth Gospel was originally written in Alexandria, the rest of the Gospel was written in Ephesus. In his view, a baptist community in Alexandria (ca. 53 A.D.) began missionary work in Asia Minor with the arrival of Apollos in Ephesus. Then some forty years later (ca. 95-105 A.D.) the Christian community in Ephesus replied by sending missionaries to Egypt with the Fourth Gospel. So, while under the influence of Philo the baptist "Logos hymn" originated in Alexandria, Apollos or someone else of the Alexandrian baptist group took the "Logos hymn" to Ephesus where the Fourth Evangelist "Christianized" it and placed it at the beginning of his Gospel as its prologue. Finally, with its prologue the Fourth Gospel was taken to Alexandria.[4]

R. E. Brown, writing in 1966, also supported an Ephesian origin for John. Like the others, he noted the "almost unanimous voice of the ancient witnesses." He further argued that the relationship between John and Revelation supports Ephesus, "for the latter work clearly belongs to the area of Ephesus." Also he claimed that the "anti-synagogue motif in the Gospel . . . makes better sense in the Ephesus region, for Rev ii 9 and iii 9 attest bitter anti-synagogue polemics in the area of Asia Minor."[5] Finally, like the others, he cited Acts 19:1-7 in favor of an Ephesian origin. He concluded:

> If there are parallels between John and the Qumran scrolls, is it an accident that Qumran parallels are most visible in Colossians and Ephesians, epistles addressed to the Ephesus region? Any incipient anti-docetic and anti-Gnostic polemic would also have been at home on the Ephesus scene.
>
> The question of the place of the Gospel's composition is not an extremely important one; but there is nothing in the internal evidence to give major support to any other theory than that which has ancient attestation; namely, that the Gospel was composed at Ephesus.[6]

2. Alexandria

The next place of composition suggested for the Fourth Gospel has been Alexandria in Egypt. Sufficiently representative of scholars in support of this position is Alfred M. Perry, writing in 1944.[7] Perry argued that Acts refers to the presence of Egyptian Christians very early in the Christian church, e.g., at Pentecost and elsewhere (see Acts 2:10; 8:27; 11:20; 13:1 [cf. 6:9]; 18:24; 27:6; 28:11, which is an indication of the very early existence of a Christian church in Alexandria). He cited W. Bauer's earlier argument that this Alexandrian church was Gnostic and heretical.[8] Moreover, like other scholars supporting an Alexandrian origin for John, he pointed to the discoveries of the Rylands papyrus[9] and the "Unknown Gospel"[10] as evidence for the early use of John in Alexandria. Noting the independence of John from the Synoptics,[11] Perry wrote:

> Is there anything more natural than that one stream of tradition should have flowed northward from the original source at Jerusalem to Caesarea, Antioch, and the Synoptic evangelists, while the Johannine flowed south to Alexandria, independent of the other almost from the start? Is not such a view, indeed, far more probable than to suppose that the two streams should have continued to flow side by side at Ephesus with so little intermingling?[12]

Perry went on to contrast the theology of Paul, which he argued was strongly influential at Ephesus, with the theology of John, and he asked:

> . . . would an Ephesian church which was interested to publish the Pauline collection, as Dr. Goodspeed and Dr. Knox have suggested, have been as likely to publish the entirely different Johannine collection as a church in the cosmopolitan intellectual center of Alexandria?[13]

Finally, Perry listed some "literary affinities" of the Fourth Gospel which he suggested were "Alexandrian." The first of these was its style. He noted a "mood of mystical reflection," and the idiomatic "Aramaisms" which he thought were more likely to appear "in a large Jewish colony in Alexandria than in Ephesus."[14] The second was Philo's "Logos doctrine" and the "light emphasis" present in the Gospel. The third was Gnosticism, which he considered more likely to have been present in Alexandria than in Ephesus. The fourth was the "anti-Jewish note of the Gospel," which he called its "Local Color." On this point, he wrote:

> The anti-Jewish note of the Gospel, so anachronistic in a Jerusalem setting, accords well with Alexandria (better probably than with Ephesus), where the Jewish colony formed such a large and distinct element of the population, and was probably closely compacted by the frequent outbreaks of anti-Semitic violence.[15]

In conclusion Perry pointed to the title "presbyter" in the Johannine Epistles, which he suggested "kept its dignity longer in Egypt than elsewhere . . . ," and to certain "festal letters" written by a bishop of Alexandria (cf. Eusebius, H.E. VII,20).[16]

3. Antioch (or Syria in General)

Next to Ephesus, Antioch in Syria probably has had the largest number of supporters as a possible place for the composition of John's Gospel. Those supporting this position have primarily pointed to the similarities in thought and language between the Fourth Gospel and the Odes of Solomon,[17] and especially to the writings of Ignatius of Antioch.[18] In addition, there is a church tradition that Ignatius was a disciple of the Apostle John (see Eusebius, H.E. III,36,1-2). There is also a tradition in one version of Ephraem's Commentary on the Diatessaron that the Gospel of John was written in Antioch.[19]

Furthermore, some of the scholars who think that John was originally written in Aramaic and later translated into Greek, or that the author thought in Aramaic but wrote in Greek, also favor Syria as the most probable place for the composition of John,[20] as do those who see Mandaean Gnostic influence on it.[21] Finally, some support Antioch simply because the earliest positive reference to the Gospel by a so-called "orthodox" writer was made by Theophilus of Antioch (Ad Autolycum II,22--ca. 180 A.D.).

Taken here as representative of the scholars maintaining an Antiochian origin for John is T. W. Manson, writing in 1946-47, partly because he has made the strongest argument for Antioch and partly because at the same time he illustrates the weaknesses of the choice by making it indecisively.

Manson, utilizing the Baurian Jewish/Hellenistic dichotomy like the others, argues that "the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of John are fundamentally Hebraic rather than Hellenic in character."[22] For support he asserts that the Logos concept in John's Prologue is based on the Old Testament debar Yahweh concept, and that the brazen serpent (Num. 21:9) imagery used in Jn. 3:14 is derived from a similar use in the Mishnah (M. Rosh. Ha-Sh. 3:8), which refers to R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, a first-century Palestinian Rabbi. This leads Manson to argue that the Fourth Gospel shows "dependence on Palestinian materials."[23]

His second argument is that, assuming the Gospel and the First Epistle of John to have been written by the same person, there are a number of similarities between the First Epistle and the Gospel of Matthew (e.g., 1 Jn. 2:22; 4:15; cf. Mtt. 16:16--1 Jn. 3:1f.; cf. Mtt. 5:8f.--1 Jn. 3:12-15; cf. Mtt. 5:21f.--

1 Jn. 5:3b; cf. Mtt. 11:30). And since Matthew is "the Antiochene Gospel" and Manson can find traces of the "M strain" in the Fourth Gospel, this leads him to connect it with Antioch.[24]

Manson's third argument rests on "a difference of liturgical usage between the Syrian Church and the rest of Christendom." The order of the Syrian Christian initiation service was: (1) unction (or chrismation), (2) baptism, (3) first communion. Manson then argues that there is a reference in 1 Jn. 5:7f. to the three stages of the initiation service in the Syrian order, which, he claims, suggests Antioch as the place of origin for the Johannine literature.[25]

His fourth argument is the "remarkable affinity of theological ideas between the Johannine literature and the letters of Ignatius of Antioch."[26]

His fifth argument is that a Q passage (Mtt. 11:25-27 = Lk. 10:21-22) is a "remarkably Johannine-sounding passage"; and Manson believes that the Q document was the product of the Christian church at Antioch.[27]

His sixth argument is that Paul's First Corinthians (5:7f.; 15:20) supports John's date for the Passion of Jesus; and this letter was "written at Ephesus by a missionary whose home base was Antioch."[28]

But even these arguments do not lead Manson to a decisive choice of Antioch as the place for the composition of the Fourth Gospel. He believes, following William Sanday,[29] "that there was 'an anticipatory stage of Johannine teaching, localized somewhere in Ephesus.'" Manson also thinks that the "original home" of John's "body of tradition" was Jerusalem, and that this tradition then travelled to Antioch and from there to Ephesus.[30] So, although Manson argues for an Antiochian origin for John's Gospel, his hypothesis relegates Antioch to a relatively unimportant stage in the process of its composition.[31]

B. Palestinian Sites Proposed for the Origin of John

The hypothesis of Palestine as the place where the Fourth Gospel was written was extremely rare among biblical scholars from the beginning of this century up until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1948. Strictly speaking, it did not even exist. For while many scholars believed that the author of the Gospel of John was the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee, and hence _originally_ a Palestinian citizen with a Palestinian cultural background, these same scholars did not usually question the Early Church traditions that the Gospel was written _in Ephesus_ by that Apostle. Perhaps due only to the reaction which arose against the over-zealousness of those emphasizing the _Hellenistic_ side of the Tübingen School's Jewish vs. Hellenistic dichotomy of early Christian history, the Jewish nature of the Gospel of John came to be emphasized to such an extent that it led eventually to the hypothesis that John was written in Palestine, a hypothesis supported by the Gospel's Aramaic aspects.[32] The Gospel, it was argued, is primarily Hebraic or Jewish (these two terms being considered synonymous), exhibiting Semitic thought and linguistic constructions, not Hellenistic thought and language.[33] And it has a special "feel" for the Palestinian land.

The scholar best known for maintaining the "Aramaic origin" thesis for John is C. F. Burney, writing ca. 1922, although he held that the Gospel originated in Antioch.[34] For him the author of John had been born and raised in Palestine but later moved to Antioch where he wrote the Gospel. The thesis of an "Aramaic origin" for John did not compel one to conclude that the actual composition of John should be placed in Palestine itself.[35] What it did do was to turn the attention of biblical scholars away from Ephesus, the traditional place of origin for the Fourth Gospel, back towards Palestine. Eventually Palestine itself was claimed as the place of its composition, and then the more specific question arose: If the Gospel was written in Palestine, then where was it written--in northern or southern Palestine or in Transjordan?

1. Southern Palestine and Qumran

In 1950 Karl Georg Kuhn began a series of articles on the newly discovered Dead Sea Scrolls in which he pointed out their many similarities to the Gospel of John. Kuhn asserted that there were parallels between the light and darkness dualisms of the Gospel of John and the Scrolls, as well as in their use of so-called "Gnostic" terms such as "Sons of Light," "truth"/"falsehood," "from God"/"from the world" (= from the devil). He concluded that the "*Mutterboden des Johannesevangeliums*" was to be found in a Gnostic Palestinian Jewish sect and not in a Pharisaic-rabbinic Judaism.[36]

Subsequently a flood of articles appeared connecting the Gospel of John with Qumran and asserting a Palestinian origin for John.[37] Moreover, since the Dead Sea Scrolls were found in *southern* Palestine near the Dead Sea, the most popular hypothesis was that John was written somewhere in southern Palestine, most likely near Jerusalem. In addition, interest especially centered upon the so-called "dualism" in John and a parallel "dualism" at Qumran, e.g., between Light and Darkness, the Sons of Light vs. the Sons of Darkness, etc.

A little later, in 1956, an article appeared by W. F. Albright adding his support to a Palestinian origin for John, which he claimed he had favored since 1924.[38] He now associated the Gospel with the Dead Sea Scrolls and concluded:

> . . . it should be clear to all students by now that the books of the Essenes from the first century B.C. provide the closest approach to the Gospels (particularly St. John) and the Pauline Epistles, so far as conceptual background and terminology are concerned, that has yet been discovered--far closer than post-Christian gospels such as the Hermetic writings, Philo, Rabbinic Judaism, Gnosticism, or Mandeanism. The direct link between the Essenes and the Gospels has long been conjectured to be represented by the teachings of John the Baptist; this can now be made much more plausible than ever before. There is, on the other hand, less evidence than ever to support the claims of Gnostic influence on Paul and John.[39]

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2. Southern Palestine and Jerusalem

In 1960 Pierson Parker began a series of articles in which he argued that the Gospel of John was written by John Mark, in Jerusalem![40] However, Parker's thesis clearly shows why some scholars have preferred to choose southern Palestine. It is much easier to affirm an eyewitness (e.g., John Mark), or even an apostolic (e.g., John the son of Zebedee) authorship, if the milieu of the Fourth Gospel is in Judea or Jerusalem.

In criticism of this position F. C. Grant had already written an article in 1959 in which he sharply reprimanded those attempting to prove a southern Palestinian origin for John on the basis of the Qumran scrolls. He wrote:

> Some less temperate writers have made quite extravagant and inadmissible claims for the Scrolls, e.g., that they indicate that the whole approach to the New Testament and to the rise of Christianity, the chronological sequence of the New Testament literature and its historical evaluation, must be entirely changed--since John is now seen to be early, rather than late (previously viewed as the latest Gospel, now the earliest!); Palestinian in origin, and Judean, with strong ties to the South, Judea, and the Judean desert, Qumran, and Samaria; with John the Baptist and the Essenes, and the priestly clique in Jerusalem--and so on. The argument is very neat, and reminds one of Westcott's famous concentric circles: the author of the Fourth Gospel was a Jew, a Palestinian Jew, a Galilean, a disciple, the beloved disciple, the son of Zebedee, John! . . . But the wish is all too obviously the father to the thought: John must be made early, and authentic, at all costs![41]

He went on to note that those who use this argument for a Jerusalem origin for John are usually "philologians and archaeologists" who have discarded two hundred years of N.T. scholarship. He even went so far as to describe their followers as composed of students with a "low level of theological education"; and he continued by noting that the parallels between the Dead Sea Scrolls and John are merely a drop in the bucket in comparison with the hundreds of other parallels collected by Dodd, Bultmann, W. Bauer, Strack and Billerbeck, Grill, Holtzmann, Westcott, and many, many other N.T. scholars dating back to 1658![42] Finally, he attacked the "normative" or monolithic understanding of first-century Judaism present in scholars holding this view.[43]

3. Transjordan and Pella

Of all the topographical references in the Gospel of John, the most mysterious and difficult to locate are those to "Bethany beyond the Jordan" (Jn. 1:28; 3:26; 10:40), where John the Baptist worked, and which is carefully distinguished from Bethany near Jerusalem (Jn. 11:1,18; 12:1), the home of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha.[44] Because of the special relationship with, or even polemic against, John the Baptist and his disciples in the Fourth Gospel, many argue that the Gospel of John must have been written in an area in which the Baptist and his followers were present, i.e., "Bethany beyond the Jordan" (Jn. 1:28). Moreover, in the Gospel Jesus frequently visits this same place (Jn. 3:26; 10:40).

Pierson Parker, who was noted above to favor the composition of John's Gospel in Jerusalem, has attempted to equate the two Bethanies in John. He observed that in the Old Testament the phrase, πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, could refer either to eastern or western Palestine, depending upon "the standpoint of the speaker" (cf. Gen. 50:10-11 with Deut. 3:20,25). He further suggested that the preposition, πέραν, should not be translated "beyond" but "across from, opposite, over against," etc. This would mean that the Bethany of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha would have been directly across the Jordan where John baptized, i.e., "just north of where it [the Jordan] empties into the Dead Sea."[45] (This would add further support to Parker's argument that the Gospel of John originated in Jerusalem from the hand of John Mark.)

In a recent article (1972) W. H. Brownlee has produced an interesting and significant argument that the enigmatic "Bethany beyond the Jordan" may indeed have been in northeastern Transjordan.[46] He argues from an earlier suggestion of Claude R. Conder, in 1875-77, that "Bethany beyond the Jordan" actually refers to a region known in the O.T. as Bashan and in N.T. times as Batanaea.[47] Should Brownlee's thesis be correct, this would open a whole new can of worms. It would mean that the cultural context of John may have been northern Palestine, or more specifically, northeastern Transjordan.

H. E. Edwards in 1953 selected a site for the composition of John very close to Batanaea, i.e., Pella, one of the cities of the Greek Decapolis. In the light of Brownlee's argument above, this suggestion becomes all the more attractive. Edwards argues that the Gospel of John was written before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., and that the Johannine community "is to be identified with those refugees from Jerusalem who, as we learn from Eusebius and Epiphanius, fled to Pella just before the outbreak of the Jewish War."[48]

Edwards' first main point is that the key to the identification of Pella as the cultural context of John is the hostile attitude in the Fourth Gospel towards "the Jews," a situation only present, he argues, in Palestine between 62-66 A.D. His proof texts are from Eusebius (H.E. III,5,3) and Epiphanius (Pan. I,2,29,7[P.G.41,col.402]; Mens.et Pond. XV[P.G.43,cols.237-292]). His second main point is an "argument from silence"--there is no reference to the destruction of Jerusalem in John.[49] His third main point is that the majority of the topographical references in the Gospel are "within a radius of twenty miles" of Pella.[50] His fourth point is that the reference to the Sea of Tiberias (Jn. 6:1) would be natural for "any traveller from Pella who was approaching the Sea of Galilee" since that hypothetical traveler "would catch sight of Herod's new city ["Tiberias," cf. Josephus, War,III,3,5], on the south-west shore of the lake, as soon as the lake itself came into view."[51] Finally, he concludes from the reference to Bethesda in Jerusalem (Jn. 5:2) that the author must have known "Jerusalem at the time when the city was still standing . . . ," when, indeed, the nearby "Sheep Gate"(Jn. 5:2) "was the gate through which a traveller would have passed if he was going to Pella."[52]

4. Samaria

The suggestion of Samaria as the Sitz im Leben or milieu from which the Gospel of John originated has been seriously asserted only within the past two decades of biblical scholarship, although support for it goes back into the late nineteenth century. Since it is the thesis of the present work, the argument for it will be presented in greater detail than those for the preceding hypotheses concerning John's origin. As will be seen, a Samaritan locale for the Gospel solves many of the problems and questions attendant upon the other hypotheses, such as the Hellenistic/Jewish dichotomy, the Ephesus connections, the question of "the Jews" in John, the relationship of John to Gnosticism, the traditions about the Apostle John, the Palestinian topographical references, and many others.

As so often happens in new discoveries, it was research in an area apparently unrelated to the Fourth Gospel which led to support for Samaria as the place of its origin. By attempting to clarify the background of Stephen's speech in Acts 7, and the connections between that speech and John, scholars came to suggest the hypothesis that the Fourth Gospel may have been written in Samaria.

It all began in 1878 with an article by E. H. Plumptre noting that various elements of Stephen's speech were closely related to the Samaritan Pentateuch and theology.[53] After examining the references to the Samaritans in the four Gospels and Acts, Plumptre observed that only Luke and John were interested in or were in favor of a Samaritan mission for the Christian church. Mark does not mention the Samaritans at all, and Matthew mentions them only to exclude any Christian missionary effort in their territory (Mtt. 10:5).[54] Plumptre observed that John's Gospel is even more favorable towards the Samaritans than is Luke. Luke reports that when Jesus was headed towards his Passion "the people [of Samaria] would not receive him because his face was set towards Jerusalem" (Lk. 9:53). That prompted James and John, the sons of Zebedee, to ask Jesus for permission to call down fire upon these Samaritans, a request which Jesus rejected (Lk. 9:54-55) while rebuking them for it (Lk. 9:55). Hence the four Gospels display a division of opinion towards the Samaritans which, as will be seen, may be far more significant than the old Hellenistic/Jewish dichotomy.

As early as 1875 Plumptre had put his finger on the passages in John and Acts which later exegetes supporting a Samaritan context for John were to come back to again and again. There is first of all chapter four of John where Jesus encounters the Samaritan woman.[55] Secondly, there is John 7:10, which Plumptre suggested indicates that Jesus kept the "early days of the Feast of Tabernacles" with the Samaritans (cf. Jn. 1:14 where the readers of the book are told that Jesus "tabernacled" among them).[56] Thirdly, there is John 8:48, where Jesus himself is accused of being a Samaritan, and the charge is not refuted.

Fourthly, there is John 10:16, together with the "Good Shepherd" discourse of Jesus, in which he states that he will reunite the dispersed flocks of Israel into one flock with one shepherd.[57] Finally, there is John 4:35, connected by Plumptre with the mission of Philip the Evangelist referred to in Acts 8:5.[58] Merely on internal evidence and at this early date, the work of Philip the Evangelist, one of the "Hellenists"(?) mentioned in Acts, is reflected by the Gospel of John. Engaging in a more detailed discussion of the Hellenists in Acts 6-8 and especially of Stephen's speech, Plumptre wrote:

> There was then . . . a Samaritan element in that company of the seven so-called Deacons, a Samaritan factor in the problem which at that time presented itself. But here the record of St. John comes in, and throws yet further light on the question with which we have to deal. The whole speech of Stephen is hardly more than a historical expansion of the truth which our Lord had proclaimed in his conversation with the woman of Samaria--"The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, worship the Father; . . ."[59]

Plumptre then turned to examine the Samaritan "associations" which he thought were present in Stephen's speech. He noted that for Acts 7:15-16, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were buried at Sychem, which does not at all agree with Gen. 25:9; 35:29; 50:13 (MT), which stated that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were buried in a cave of Machpelah in the field of Ephron, east of Mamre, a cave bought by Abraham from the Hittites and not from "the sons of Hamor the father of Sychem" (Acts 7:16). This report, Plumptre suggested, came from the Samaritans who "sought to enhance the reputation of their sacred places by manipulating the sacred text."[60]

A further important connection between the Gospel of John and the Samaritans appeared in a study of the Samaritan messiah, the Taheb, made by A. E. Cowley in 1895.[61] Cowley translated a Samaritan fragment of a hymn belonging to the Samaritan Liturgy for the Day of Atonement, and allegedly written by Abisha ben Pinhas, who died in 1376 A.D. It is significant for its similarities to the messianic theology of the Gospel of John. Cowley's translation reads in part:

> My word shall instruct thee in the memorial of the Taheb and his government. When he is born in peace, his majesty shall shine forth in the heavens and the earth, and his star in the midst of its heavens. When this Taheb groweth up, his righteousness shall be revealed. The Lord shall call him and teach him his laws. He shall give him a scripture and clothe him with prophecy. Then shall come to pass the saying of the son of Terah in (the passage) "it shall be when the sun goeth down, that behold a smoking furnace," that is, he shall abide in his house; "and a flame of fire," that is, he shall abide upon his holy hill. Then the tabernacle shall be discovered and his pegs be fixed: and the pillar of fire and of smoke: the altars and their incense: the table and the candlestick; the ark of the covenant and his tables, with the cherubim on this side and on that, on the right and on the left. The priest shall take the pan and offer his incense, and go into the tabernacle of the congregation to make atonement for himself and for his house, and for all the congregation of Israel, and shall offer the sacrifices. Israel shall dwell safely, freed from his fear; and shall keep his feasts in peace, and bring his offerings. Then gladness shall be restored, and all nations shall be subdued. He shall confound the tongue of the Arabs, and the Hebrew tongue shall be manifested. Then shall be raised up the order of the wise, men of understanding, and there shall be nothing hid any more, either

> above or below. But the kingdom shall continue until the latter day. Then the enemy shall go up upon his tower, and take up his parable. He shall see this glory, and speak saying: "How godly are thy tents, oh! Taheb, how great his dwellings! Water shall flow from his buckets, and his strength be magnified. His king shall be higher than Gog, and his kingdom be exalted." For he shall be king over eleven nations, which are mentioned in his Law. The nations and the uncircumcised shall say each to his people: "All that we (trusted) in is false, and this is he whose teaching is the truth: arise now, let us go to him, that we may enter under the shadow of his beams." They shall come and believe in him, and in Moses and his law. The Jews also shall say: "Let us come to his teaching. Cursed be Ezra and his words which he wrote in his wickedness. Mount Garizim is holy: there is not its like among the mountains. There the Taheb shall rejoice and answer in his heart of wisdom: 'Blessed be Israel with his seed! There is none like him among the peoples.' Oh! that mine eye had seen this Taheb and his majesty! Peace from me be upon him! May he attain unto his prophecy! May he enter into his camp! May he come unto his victory! May he overshadow his habitation! Peace be upon him! until his entering into his house! Peace be upon him! and upon his fathers, the pure, from whom he shall arise and receive his gifts. The peace of God be upon Moses, son of Amram, and his prayers: who revealed to us in his book this mystery and the secrets of it. He who says "is there any prophet like to Moses?" shall see what is his (the Taheb's) greatness.[62]

It is significant to note Cowley's examination of the similarities between the document cited above and the discussion between Jesus and the Samaritan woman in chapter four of John's Gospel. Cowley noted that as in Jn. 4:9 "we find the Jews regarded as the typical enemies of the Samaritans." The opposition between Jerusalem and Mount Gerizim is also the same as Jn. 4:20. As in Jn. 4:23, when the Taheb comes nothing will be hidden any longer.[63] Continuing his discussion of John 4, Cowley remarks:

> It was the telling all things that ever she did which most impressed the woman, as we see from the repetition, verses 29 and 39, and it was for this reason that He [Jesus] must be a prophet; but (she would argue) if a prophet, then He must be the Taheb, for Moses was the last prophet. . . . As soon as the consequence of her admission (iv 19) becomes clear to her, she tests him on the fundamental point of difference between Jews and Samaritans, the holiness of Mount Gerizim (iv 20). Even the unusual phrase "the Saviour of the world" (iv 42) though not found perhaps in the [Samaritan] liturgies, is quite in keeping with Abisha's account. Further, the living water and the spiritual thirst, the promise of everlasting life, the spiritual nature of God, the need of worshipping in spirit and in truth, all these are characteristic of the [Samaritan] liturgies of all periods.[64]

Cowley concluded his comparison of the Samaritan Taheb with what is reported in John chapter four by admitting that "there is no proof and little probability" that the doctrine of the Taheb presented in the Medieval Samaritan source cited above was fully developed at the time of John's Gospel.[65] Nevertheless, since the Samaritan woman in John 4:25 states that she knows about the "messiah," some kind of Samaritan messianic belief was present at the time of Jesus or at least at the time of John's Gospel.[66] The problem is that, like the quotation from Abisha above, with few exceptions the Samaritan documents are extremely late in date.[67]

In any case, the first recent exegete to argue objectively that the Gospel of John had a special relationship with the Samaritans and their theology was John Bowman. In 1958

Bowman wrote an article maintaining that "the author of John is trying to make a bridge between Samaritans and Jews in Christ."[68] Like Plumptre, he observed that the attitudes of the four Gospels differ among themselves with respect to the Samaritans: "Luke's attitude to the Samaritans is friendly, Matthew's attitude hostile while Mark's attitude is non-existent. John's attitude to the Samaritans is different."[69] Like Cowley, Bowman noted that although the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well uses the term "messiah," she also "perceives that Jesus is 'a prophet'" which for a Samaritan could only be a reference to the Samaritan Taheb, or messiah. In addition, however, Bowman noted that Jesus in John is many times referred to as the "Prophet who is to come" (cf. Deut. 18:18), an identification used by the Samaritans but not by the Jews as a "messianic" title.[70] In particular, Bowman pointed to Jn. 7:40-43, where the crowd seems to be divided over the question whether Jesus is the Davidic messiah or the prophet of Deut. 18:18, i.e., the Samaritan messiah.

In addition to the so-called Samaritan messianic doctrine of "the Prophet" in John, Bowman noted the accusations against Jesus that he was a Samaritan (Jn. 8:48), and that he had a demon (8:48; cf. also 7:20; 8:52; 10:20). Significantly, while denying the second charge, Jesus ignored the first--that he was a Samaritan.[71]

Moreover, observed Bowman, even the Good Shepherd speech (Jn. 10) has many Samaritan affinities since it is based on

Ezek. 34:22-24: "In Ezek. xxxvii.15ff. the prophet [Ezekiel] is told to take a stick and mark it for Judah and another and mark it for Ephraim [i.e., Samaria], and make them into one stick, the symbol of the re-united Israel and Judah."[72] Hence when Jesus claims to be the one shepherd over two different flocks of sheep, he can refer only to "the Jews" and Samaritans since the latter existed at the time of Ezekiel and were the only non-Jewish group in John's Gospel who accepted Jesus.[73]

The next passage which Bowman singled out was Jn. 4: 35-38. He thought that the "field ripe for harvest" here must refer to Samaria.[74] Unfortunately, Bowman seems to have been unaware of an extremely interesting paper by Oscar Cullmann, written four years earlier, which had examined this passage in great detail.[75] Cullmann provided the first substantive connection between Stephen's speech in Acts 7 and the Fourth Gospel. But, as noted earlier, instead of pursuing a Samaritan identification of the so-called "Hellenists" in Acts 6-8, Cullmann argued for a connection between the Qumran sect and the Hellenists. Nevertheless, like Bowman and others above, Cullmann noted that of the four Gospels only Luke and John reveal any interest in a Christian missionary effort towards the Samaritans. Noting that Acts 1:8 gives the various states of the church's mission as: (1) Jerusalem, (2) Judea, (3) Samaria, and (4) the world, he argued that: " . . . it was Samaria which saw the actual beginnings of the Christian mission" and that "Samaria was the first step in the execution of the divine plan. . . ."[76] Like Bowman, Cullmann then argued that the author of John was highly interested in Samaria.

Turning back to John 4:35-38, Cullmann found "the text . . . comparatively easy to interpret," with the exception of verse 38b which reads: "Others have labored, and you have entered into their labor." The puzzling question is: Who are the others? For Cullmann they could not be Jesus, the disciples, the prophets, nor anyone else in the Old Testament. Nor could they be John the Baptist and his disciples. Instead "the others" are the "Hellenists" of Acts 6-8, and especially Philip, the Evangelist of Acts 8:1f. Indeed, it is the Apostle John himself, together with Peter, who had harvested what Philip had sown (Acts 8:5f., cf. v.14).

Cullmann then discussed the "theological ideas" of the Hellenists. But instead of recognizing the Samaritan affinities discussed above, Cullmann stated: "It would be interesting to discover whether there is some connection between these Hellenists and the Essene sect known from the Qumran scrolls."[77] (This suggestion Cullmann expanded in later articles until he virtually identified the Hellenists with the Essenes.[78]) Cullmann concluded by noting Jn. 8:48, which Bowman had also noted.[79]

It is extremely unfortunate that Cullmann does not seem to be aware of the earlier studies by H. Hammer and P. Kahle,[80] and that Bowman apparently did not know of Cullmann's work.

The present investigation attempts to unite these two divergent lines of study into a single stream. At the same time it will be shown that Cullmann's suggestion of a relationship between the "Hellenists" of Acts and Qumran does possess some validity.

Bowman, for his part, went on in his article to cite some theological similarities between John and the Samaritan Malef, a Medieval Samaritan catechism for children. In the Malef one finds the Samaritan theology of Creation, the Fall of Man, the Original Sin. Without going into detail, Bowman first pointed to the many similarities between the Malef and John's Logos prologue, e.g., creation by the Logos; the emphasis upon light, which the Samaritans, like John, also personified as the Holy Spirit and Moses. Secondly, Bowman noted that all except the Samaritans were considered to be the "sons of Cain" and the "sons of Belial" (cf. Jn. 8:44). Hence the accusation in Jn. 8:48, made by the Jews, that Jesus was a Samaritan is completely understandable. For in the view of Samaritan theology "the Jews" were indeed the "sons of Cain" and the "sons of the devil (or Belial)." Bowman concluded his brief study of John and the Samaritans by stating: "The point of contact between John's Gospel and Samaritan Theology seems to be the ascribing to the pre-existent Christ what Samaritan Theology ascribes to the pre-existent Moses."[81]

In two immediately following articles, Bowman observed that the Samaritans had a fixed theology and creed whereas Judaism did not. He also mentioned several other agreements between the

Samaritans and John's Gospel. Like John, the Samaritans placed a great emphasis upon faith and knowledge.[82] The Samaritans called Moses "the Saviour of the World" (cf. Jn. 4:42).[83] And the Samaritan creed seemed to be directly reflected in John 5 where Jesus condemns the Jews for not possessing the love of God (v. 42), not believing in Moses (v. 46), not believing in the Law of Moses (v. 47), and not having God's word in them (v. 38). These correspond to four of the five points of the Samaritan Creed: (1) Belief in God; (2) Belief in Moses; (3) Belief in the Law; and (5) Belief in the Taheb. Number four, which is omitted, is "Belief in Mt. Gerizim" which would not be expected in a Christian document which expressly rejects worship at Jerusalem and Mt. Gerizim (Jn. 4:21).[84]

The next year, 1959, Dr. Bowman delivered a series of lectures in German at the University of Münster which were subsequently published in 1967 with the title Samaritanische Probleme.[85] Essentially he repeated the arguments put forth in his article just described but refined and strengthened them by utilizing much earlier Jewish and Christian sources describing the Samaritans, e.g., Josephus, the Qumran scrolls, and O.T. Apocrypha, etc. However, instead of arguing that the Fourth Gospel was intended to be a bridge between Samaritans and Jews, Bowman argued that it was addressed only to the heterodox Samaritan Dositheans, while the Gospel of Luke was addressed to the orthodox Samaritan priests.[86] Bowman also noted the Samaritan influence on Stephen's speech. He added the observation that the citation in Acts 7:43 of Amos 5:27 is altered so that "Amos' prophecy of disaster for Northern Israel was transferred to all of Israel including Judah, in that the quotation 'beyond Damascus' is changed to 'beyond Babylon' . . ."[87]

In the same year (1967) that Bowman's Samaritanische Probleme appeared, W. A. Meeks published The Prophet-King, a detailed study of the Christology of the Fourth Gospel in the light of Samaritan messianic theology.[88] The possibility of such a study was inferred by Bowman when he stated that John's Gospel describes the pre-existent Christ in the same way that Samaritan theology described the pre-existent Moses. After a close study of Jn. 7:37-52 and 18:29-19:22, Meeks concluded that the Gospel of John had arisen "by interaction between a Christian community and a hostile Jewish community whose piety accorded very great importance to Moses and the Sinai theophany. . . ."[89] But Meeks did not take the further step of arguing that John's Sitz im Leben was indeed Samaria. It was George W. Buchanan who first made the direct statement that "the Gospel attributed to John came from the Samaritan Christian Church."[90]

In 1965, two years before Meeks' The Prophet-King, Buchanan read a paper, subsequently published in 1968,[91] which began by noting that as early as 1945 E. R. Goodenough had suggested that the author of John might early have been in "one of the Hellenistic synagogues of Jerusalem itself, or in Samaria, after the Hellenistic Christians had been dispersed. . . ."[92] However, in addition to the Samaritan relationships already noted by others, Buchanan made some additional observations.

First, Buchanan suggested that the term "Israel" in John might have a "distinctive connotation, meaning the Northern Kingdom as over against the Southern Kingdom, Benjamin and Judah."[93] As support, Buchanan stated that such a usage of the terms "Israel" and "Judah" can be seen in the apocryphal book of Susanna.[94] Observing the use of the term "King of Israel" in the Fourth Gospel, Buchanan asserted that the title may reflect a regional Palestinian dispute in which the Gospel of John stands over against the two Synoptic Gospels, Matthew and Mark (Jn. 12:13; cf. Mtt. 21:9; Mk. 11:9-10). Buchanan also suggested that the term "Son of Joseph" in the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 1:45; cf. 4:5; 6:42) may be a Samaritan messianic title. In other words, Buchanan thought the Gospel of John may reflect a "North Israelite point of view." In that case "the Jews" in John could be called the southern Israelites and the Samaritans (with the Galileans?) could be called the northern Israelites. Indeed, for Buchanan all the opponents of Jesus come from Judah; and Jn. 2:24 (cf. 8:31-47) states that Jewish disciples of Jesus were not trusted by Jesus. In short, for Buchanan in "the Fourth Gospel, the term, Jew, always makes good sense meaning a non-Samaritan Palestinian."[95]

The next pro-Samaritan affinity with John's Gospel discussed by Buchanan was the relationship between "Samaria and the prophets." Where the Fourth Gospel is interested in the O.T. prophets, Buchanan sees a Samaritan bias at work in its selection of the prophets it uses. Instead of Amos and Hosea, who were acrid critics of northern Israel, John is interested in prophets who were not as critical of Samaria such as Elijah and Elisha. This is apparent when the miracles performed by these two prophets are compared with the seven signs Jesus performs in the Fourth Gospel. In addition, Buchanan saw structural similarities between Jn. 2:1-11 (The "Wedding at Cana") and two stories about Elijah (1 Kgs. 17:1-6) and Elisha (2 Kgs. 4:1-7). Moreover, Jesus' healing of the son of the Courtier (Jn. 4:46-54) has a structural parallel with Elisha's healing of an army officer (2 Kgs. 5:1-14). Likewise, the story of the "Feeding of the 5,000" (Jn. 6:4-14) is very similar to Elisha's "Feeding of the Hundred Men" (2 Kgs. 4:42-44). The raising of Lazarus (Jn. 11:1-44) is very close to two similar events in the stories of Elijah (1 Kgs. 17:17-24) and Elisha (2 Kgs. 4:18-37). From these comparisons, Buchanan concluded: "The miracles of Jesus in the Gospel of John follow the typologies of Elijah and Elisha to about the same degree, being closer to the miracles of Elisha than Elijah."[96]

But if Elisha's miraculous activity is reflected in John, then why are there only seven signs performed by Jesus in John while Elisha performed fourteen miracles? Buchanan replied: "The answer is that originally the 'signs' section in the Gospel of John probably existed as a separate document which included fourteen miracle stories attributed to Jesus,"[97] and later this "signs source" was "abridged" so that the Gospel ended up with only seven signs. Though admitting this to be only a "conjecture," Buchanan believed "this sort of hypothesis would help explain the unevennesses in style and discontinuity of narrative now found in John."[98] In addition, he pointed to Jn. 20:30, which could be interpreted to mean that the original "signs source" of John's Gospel has omitted some signs. Buchanan summarized his argument as follows:

> This attempt to imagine non-existing documents, of course, is conjecture and not fact. But the major thrust of these arguments point to a Samaritan origin for the Gospel of John whether or not all of the details are correct. The Israelites in John appear to have been Samaritans and were viewed appreciatively; the Jews appear to have been citizens of Judah and/or Galilee who worshipped at Jerusalem. They, together with the special classes of Judaeans, priests, and Pharisees, were always shown in conflict with Jesus. . . . He showed far greater knowledge of the country of Samaria than any other Gospel and devoted more space to Samaria and Samaritans than the Synoptic Gospels. His attitude toward the OT prophets and history was sympathetic with Israel's position more than Judah's.[99]

One of the most recent articles supporting a Samaritan relationship with John was written in 1973 by Charles H. H. Scobie.[100] Scobie discussed the question of Jesus' πατρίς (Jn. 4:44) and his ἴδια (Jn. 1:11) in John, a point very important to determine if one is to choose between a southern or a northern Palestinian origin for the Gospel.[101] Scobie wrote: "But if Jesus is largely rejected in Jerusalem and Judaea [in John], it is in Galilee and Samaria that he is received. . . ."

He continued: "Without denying the Judaean ministries, on which indeed the Gospel seems to have fuller and more accurate knowledge than the Synoptics, John is really a northern Gospel."[102]

In addition to the question of Jesus' "homeland" and "his own," the role of "the Jews" in John also becomes important for choosing between a northern or southern Palestinian origin for John. Scobie wrote:

> It is an attractive thesis that the origins of the Johannine traditions are to be found in a community or communities which stemmed from the Stephen-Philip missionary thrust. Such a community would have combined Samaritan-Christian elements and Northern or Galilean-Christian elements. It must have been located in a place where it encountered heavy Jewish opposition. This helps to explain the often-noted use of the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι in the Gospel. This usage does not spring from a late, Gentile anti-Semitism, but from an anti-Judaean bias on the part of Galilean and Samaritan groups. It also helps to explain the absence from John of any material relating to a Gentile mission. This is usually explained by saying that the Gospel is so late that the matter has been settled and is no longer under discussion; but an equally valid explanation is that the Gospel is so early that the matter has not yet arisen! The Gospel reflects the stage at which the Stephen-Philip group had engaged in a Samaritan mission but not yet in a Gentile mission.[103]

The most beautiful thing about this thesis is that it includes the most verifiable conclusions of all the previous studies. The Jewish vs. Hellenistic arguments which have appeared again and again are superseded, and it includes important discoveries and arguments by scholars of both factions. For example, both the Hellenistic and Aramaic scholars are encompassed when it is stated that Aramaic was also the official language of the Samaritan as well as the Jewish community; and the Stephen-Philip group is the group chosen by both B. W. Bacon and Oscar Cullmann as possible sources for the Fourth Gospel.[104] With regard to Antioch, it should be noted that the Samaritan Christian Church was related to the Antiochian branch of Early Christianity, as opposed to the Alexandrian. For those who wish to emphasize the Gnostic influence upon John, e.g., Käsemann, Bauer, Bultmann, it is well known that Samaria was one of the earliest hotbeds of Gnosticism. Furthermore, the presence of John the Baptist and his disciples in Samaria is affirmed not only by the Fourth Gospel itself but also by other Jewish and Christian traditions. But the demonstration of a Samaritan cultural context requires something much more convincing than the "affinities" and "parallels" used in the past.

In conclusion, to return to Brownlee's article, it is instructive that Brownlee refers to Judea, Transjordan and Samaria, the three Palestinian locales proposed as possible locales for the Fourth Gospel. Brownlee wrote:

> . . . it seems clear that the sources [of John] betray an intimate knowledge of Palestinian geography, history and religious thought, and that their author addresses himself in his symbolic geography to all parts and factions of the country. Galilee, Bethany (i.e., Batanaea, representing the whole trans-Jordan area), Samaria and Judea are all prominent in the narrative. The ambiguity of "Jew" or "Judean" often arises, since the same word may be translated either way; but sometimes in John the term means "Judean" in antithesis to "Batanaean" or Gelilean. As a religious term, also, it stands in antithesis to Baptist, Samaritan and disciple of Jesus.[105]

The questions raised in this paragraph are at the heart of the discussions to follow, e.g., the question of John's topographical references, and the meaning of the term "the Jews." The question of Hellenism and Judaism as two widely separated and conflicting contexts for John is also discussed by Brownlee in the next paragraph. He wrote:

> In view of alleged Hellenisms in Johannine thought and vocabulary, it is important to ask whether a Palestinian witness to Christ could have been influenced by Greek literature, such as the Wisdom of Solomon, Philo or the Septuagint. We must not exclude some acquaintance with Greek thought and language; for, ever since the conquest of Alexander the Great, Greek had become a cultural factor to be reckoned with in the Holy Land. In fact, there was a synagogue of the Hellenists at Jerusalem itself. There were also Greek-speaking communities, for many Palestinians were non-Jews. Of these, some were Greek-speaking, such as colonists settled by Alexander at Samaria, many of whose descendants were still living in the land. Jerusalem was the centre for religious pilgrims from all over the world, and an early effort was made to convert them to "the way." Here was a witness who needed Greek as well as Aramaic. The Evangelist who preached so eloquently in Palestine may therefore have been concerned with Greek-speaking Jews who went to Jerusalem at Festival time (12:20). Wherever else this Evangelist preached, the substance of his message seems to have been worked out in the living context of the varied population of the land of Israel, and there he proclaimed Jesus as the prophet-king and Saviour of Israel.[106]

NOTES--CHAPTER II

[1] C. K. Barrett, The Gospel according to St. John (London: S.P.C.K., 1956), p. 111.

[2] Ibid., p. 109.

[3] Ibid., pp. 111-114.

[4] E. Stauffer, "Probleme der Priestertradition," Theologische Literaturzeitung 81 (1956):147-149.

[5] R. E. Brown, The Gospel according to John (i-xii), Anchor Bible (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), vol. I, p. ciii. W. C. van Unnik ("The Purpose of St. John's Gospel," Studia Evangelica, eds. K. Aland et al., TU No. 73 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959], pp. 406, 409-410) also supported Ephesus because he considered the synagogal disputes in John's Gospel more likely to have occurred in Asia Minor. These disputes will be discussed in more detail in chapter IV.

[6] Brown, The Gospel, vol. I, pp. ciii-civ. In addition to C. K. Barrett, E. Stauffer, and R. E. Brown, who have been selected as representative of this position, see B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels (New York: Macmillan, 1925), pp. 370, 427-461; and C. H. Dodd, Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 298-300, 426; idem, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 452.

[7] A. M. Perry, "Is John an Alexandrian Gospel?" JBL 63 (1944):99-106.

[8] W. Bauer, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971 [orig. pub. 1934]), pp. 44-60; cf. Perry, ibid., p. 100.

[9] On the Rylands papyrus, the oldest N.T. fragment, see C. H. Roberts, An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935); idem, "An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library," BJRL 20 (1936):45-55; and for the latest discussion see W. G. Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament, 17th rev. ed., trans. H. C. Kee (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), p. 517.

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[10] H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri (London: Published by the Trustees, 1935). This is an early second-century papyrus which contains Johannine and Synoptic traditions. It testifies that John was read and used as a source in Egypt before 150 A.D. See also K. Lake and S. Lake, An Introduction to the New Testament (London: Christophers, 1948), p. 53.

[11] See P. Gardner-Smith (St. John and the Synoptic Gospels [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938]) who argued that the Johannine traditions were independent of the Synoptics. His arguments are now generally accepted by the majority of N.T. scholars.

[12] Perry, "Is John?" p. 101.

[13] Ibid., p. 102.

[14] Ibid., p. 103.

[15] Ibid., p. 104.

[16] Ibid. In addition to A. M. Perry, see J. N. Sanders, The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), pp. 39-41, 85-87; and J. L. Martyn, who really prefers Ephesus, gives Alexandria as a "possibility" (History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel [New York: Harper & Row, 1968], p. 58 n. 94). Sanders later switched to Syria--see J. N. Sanders, The Foundations of the Christian Faith (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952), pp. 161-167.

[17] For example, see R. Strachan, "The Newly Discovered Odes of Solomon and Their Bearing on the Problem of the Fourth Gospel," Expository Times 22 (1910):7-14. In an appendix, C. F. Burney (The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel [London: Clarendon Press, 1922], pp. 166-171) gives the alleged parallels between John and the Odes. For the argument against Burney, see R. M. Grant, "The Odes of Solomon and the Church of Antioch," JBL 63 (1944):363-377.

[18] Burney, The Aramaic Origin, pp. 153-159, gives a list of the alleged parallels between John and Ignatius of Antioch. In addition, see H. Schlier, Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen (Gie~~ss~~en: A. Töpelmann, 1929).

[19] For a discussion, see F. C. Conybeare, "Ein Zeugnis Ephräms über das Fehlen von c. 1 und 2 im Texte des Lukas," ZNW 3 (1902):192-197, and especially E. Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, ed. W. Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), vol. II, p. 54.

Specifically, a Latin translation of Ephraem's commentary made by J. Aucher from an Armenian edition reads: "Lucas (sc. scripsit) graece, Johannes etiam graece scripsit Antiochiae." But the words "etiam graece Antiochiae" appear in only one of two extant Armenian MSS (see Hennecke, N.T. Apocrypha, II, p. 54). Thus W. Leloir argued that "Antiochiae" should really be connected to Luke alone because it was commonly believed that Luke was from Antioch (see W. Leloir, "L'original syriaque du commentaire de S. Ephrem sur le Diatessaron," Biblica 40 [1959]: 965).

[20] For example, C. F. Burney, The Aramaic Origin, pp. 126-129.

[21] For example, R. Bultmann, "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums," ZNW 24 (1925):102-103. This appears to be the only place where Bultmann gives his choice for the place where John was written. His commentary on John is mute on this subject, but see Walter Schmithal's introduction to the English translation (R. Bultmann, The Gospel of John, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray et al. [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971], p. 12). Walter Bauer (Das Johannesevangelium, 2nd ed. [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1925], p. 237) is more specific. His reasons are the same as those of Burney, whom he cites (The Aramaic Origin, pp. 129ff.).

[22] T. W. Manson, "The Life of Jesus: A Survey of the Available Material (5): The Fourth Gospel," BJRL 30 (1946-47): 325.

[23] Ibid., p. 326, quoting the conclusion to another of his articles: "The Argument from Prophecy," JTS 46 (1945):129-136.

[24] Manson, "The Life of Jesus," p. 326.

[25] Ibid., pp. 326-327.

[26] Ibid., p. 327.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] William Sanday, The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), p. 199.

[30] Manson, "The Life of Jesus," pp. 327-328.

[31] Others who prefer Syria or Antioch are: E. Käsemann, The Testament of Jesus, trans. G. Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), pp. 36-37; W. G. Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament,

rev. 17th ed., trans. H. C. Kee (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), pp. 246-247; C. H. Kraeling, "The Fourth Gospel and Contemporary Religious Thought," *JBL* 49 (1930):148-149; E. Hirsch, *Das Vierte Evangelium* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1936), p. 71; and E. Schweizer, *Ego Eimi, Die religionsgeschichtliche Herkunft und theologische Bedeutung der johanneischen Bildreden, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Quellenfrage des vierten Evangeliums*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1965), p. 83.

[32] On the Aramaisms in the Fourth Gospel in addition to Burney, *The Aramaic Origin*, see: A. von Schlatter, *Die Sprache und Heimat des vierten Evangelisten* (Gütersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1902), esp. pp. 8ff., 128ff.; cf. idem, *Der Evangelist Johannes, wie er spricht, denkt und glaubt* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1930); C. J. Bell, "Had the Fourth Gospel an Aramaic Archetype?" *Expository Times* 21 (1910):91-93; C. Lattey, "The Semitisms of the Fourth Gospel," *JTS* 20 (1918-19):330-336; C. C. Torrey, "The Aramaic Origin of the Gospel of John," *HTR* 16 (1923):305-344 (perhaps one of the best surveys); J. A. Montgomery, *The Origin of the Gospel according to St. John* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1923), esp. pp. 3-4; C. F. Burney, *The Poetry of Our Lord* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925); E. C. Colwell, *The Greek of the Fourth Gospel: A Study of Its Aramaisms in the Light of Hellenistic Greek* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931); C. C. Torrey, *Our Translated Gospels* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936). For more recent arguments for this position, see M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946-67); idem, "Does an Aramaic Tradition underlie John i.16?" *JTS* 42 (1941): 69-70; J. Bonsirven, "Les Aramaismes de S. Jean l'évangeliste?" *Biblica* 30 (1949):405-432; M. S. Smith, "Aramaic Studies and the Study of the New Testament," *Journal of Bible and Religion* 26 (1958):304-313; Schuyler Brown, "From Burney to Black: The Fourth Gospel and the Aramaic Question," *CBQ* 26 (1964):323-339 (the best most recent study we could find). It should be added that *Aramaic was spoken by the Samaritans until the Fourth Century A.D.* (A. E. Cowley, "The Samaritan Liturgy and Reading of the Law," *JQR* 7 [1894]:126). Thereafter Arabic came into use.

[33] For example, adamant opposition towards the description of almost anything in John as "Hellenistic" can be seen in Montgomery's *The Origin*, as well as in other proponents of this position.

[34] C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin*, p. 12.

[35] C. C. Torrey ("The Aramaic Origin," p. 310) argued that, even if John contained "Greek thought," "this fact, however, can carry with it no conclusion as to the locality in which the author lived and wrote . . . " *because Palestine itself had been* "a 'Hellenistic' land for many generations." Millar Burrows

("The Original Language of the Gospel of John," JBL 49 [1930]: 95-139) adds that "The hypothesis of Aramaic origin does not necessarily involve composition in Palestine," because, "Aramaic was spoken by Jews and Gentiles, in many places outside of Palestine" (p. 96).

[36] K. G. Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament," ZTK 47 (1950):209-210; and idem, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," ZTK 49 (1952): 315.

[37] For example, L. Mowry, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Background for the Gospel of John," Biblical Archaeologist 17 (1954):78-97 (it should be noted that this article by Mowry was based on one by W. F. Albright. See n. 38 below, which did not appear in print until two years later); D. M. Stanley, "Bulletin of the New Testament: the Johannine Literature," Theological Studies 17 (1956):516-531; R. E. Murphy, "Insights into the New Testament from the Dead Sea Scrolls," American Ecclesiastical Review 135 (1956):9-22; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and New Testament Comparisons," CBQ 18 (1956):263-272; F. Clark, "Tension and Tide in St. John's Gospel," Irish Theological Quarterly 24 (1957):154-165; Jean Danielou, "Église Primitive et Communauté de Qumran," Études n.v. (May 1957):216-235; Feliks Gryglewicz, "Der Evangelist Johannes und die Sekte von Qumran," Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift 10 (1959):226-228; and finally, the bibliographies in every issue of Revue de Qumran.

[38] W. F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of John," The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, eds. W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 153-171.

[39] Ibid., pp. 169-170.

[40] P. Parker, "John and John Mark," JBL 79 (1960):97-110; idem, "John the Son of Zebedee and the Fourth Gospel," JBL 81 (1962):35-43.

[41] F. C. Grant, "The Historical Element in the Fourth Gospel," Religion in Life 28 (1958-59):63-64.

[42] Ibid., pp. 64-65.

[43] Ibid., p. 67. Other scholars disputing this position based on comparisons made between Qumran and John were H. M. Teeple, "Qumran and the Origin of the Fourth Gospel," Novum Testamentum 4 (1960-61):6-25; J. Vardaman, "Significant Developments in Scroll Research," Review and Expositor 58 (1961):181-199;

and H. H. Rowley, "Comparison and Contrast," Interpretation 16 (1962):297-298.

[44] It should be noted that the references to Bethany near Jerusalem, the home of Lazarus, are especially emphasized by those who subscribe to the theory of a Judean origin for John. They are also emphasized by those who believe that Lazarus was the "beloved disciple."

[45] P. Parker, "Bethany beyond Jordan," JBL 74 (1955):260.

[46] W. H. Brownlee, "Whence the Gospel according to John?" John and Qumran, ed. J. H. Charlesworth, et al. (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1972), pp. 166-194.

[47] See C. R. Conder, "The Site of Bethabara," Palestine Exploration Fund n.v. (1875):72-74; and idem, "Bethany beyond Jordan," Palestine Exploration Fund n.v. (1877):184-187; see also A. Henderson, Palestine (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1884), p. 154; and C. R. Conder, A Handbook to the Bible, 2nd ed. (New York: Randolf, n.d. (ca. 1880?); cf. Brownlee, "Whence," pp. 168-170.

[48] H. E. Edwards, The Disciple Who Wrote These Things (London: J. Clarke, 1953), p. 18. (For more recent studies of Pella, see R. H. Smith, Pella of the Decapolis, vol. I [Wooster, Ohio: College of Wooster, 1973]; and F. I. Andersen, "Pella of the Decapolis," Buried History 10 [1974]:109-119. On the "flight to Pella," see H. J. Schoeps, "Ebionitische Apokalyptik im Neuen Testament," ZNW 51 [1960]:101-111.)

[49] Ibid., pp. 118-119.

[50] Ibid., pp. 125, 132.

[51] Ibid., p. 124.

[52] Ibid., pp. 126-127.

[53] E. H. Plumptre, "The Samaritan Element in the Gospels and Acts," The Expositor 1st series, vol. 7 (1878):22-40.

[54] Ibid., pp. 25, 30-31.

[55] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[56] Ibid., p. 26 n.4.

[57] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[58] Ibid., p. 27.

[59] Ibid., p. 34.

[60] Ibid., pp. 35-38.

[61] A. E. Cowley, "The Samaritan Doctrine of the Messiah," The Expositor n.v. (1895):161-174.

[62] Ibid., pp. 162-164.

[63] Ibid., p. 171.

[64] Ibid., pp. 171-172. With regard to the observation of Cowley that the ideas of this document are "characteristic of the [Samaritan] liturgies of all periods," he is the only one in a position to know (see n. 65 below).

[65] For the major studies on the Taheb, see A. Hilgenfeld, "Der Taheb der Samaritaner nach einer neu aufgefundenen Urkunde," Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie 36 (1894):233-244; A. J. Merx, Der Messiah oder Ta'eb der Samaritaner (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1909; idem, "Ein samaritanisches Fragment über den Ta'eb oder Messias," Actes du Huitième Congrès International Orientalistes, III me section sémitique B. (Leiden: Brill, 1893), pp. 117-139; John Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans (London: SCM, 1964), pp. 362-371; J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1923), pp. 246-251. We have used Cowley because he provides an English translation of the pertinent texts. Moreover, his knowledge of Samaritanism appears to be much greater than that of Merx. For example, Cowley is the only one to date to collect and publish the entire Samaritan Liturgy (The Samaritan Liturgy, 2 vols. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909]). More recent studies of the Taheb are the following: J. Bowman, The Hebrew Text of a Samaritan Allegory by Phinehas on the Taheb, unpublished MS, University of Leeds, 1955; H. M. Teeple, The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1957); and finally, J. Macdonald, "The Samaritan Doctrine of Moses," Scottish Journal of Theology 13 (1960):149-162.

[66] Cowley, "The Samaritan Doctrine," p. 172.

[67] See on the discussion of this problem with regard to the Samaritan writings, R. Bergmeier, "Zur Frühdatierung samaritanischer Theologoumena," Journal for the Study of Judaism 5 (1974):121-153.

[68] John Bowman, "Samaritan Studies, I. The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans," BJRL 40 (1957-58):298-308.

[69] Ibid., p. 299.

[70] Ibid., pp. 299-301. He is supported by R. Bultmann, The Gospel of John, p. 89f.; see also n. 5. Occasionally one reads assertions by scholars (e.g., M. Black, "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man," Scottish Journal of Theology 6 [1953]:3) that the Jews or rabbis also used Deut. 18:18 messianically, but they invariably fail to give a rabbinic or Talmud reference to support their contention.

[71] Ibid., p. 301.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid., pp. 301-302.

[75] O. Cullmann, "Samaria and the Origins of the Christian Mission; Who are the ΑΛΛΟΙ of John 4:38?" The Early Church, ed. A. J. B. Higgins (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956), pp. 185-192 (orig. pub. in French in Annuaire 1953-54, École Pratique des Hautes Études [Section des Sciences Religieuses], pp. 3-12 and in German in O. Cullmann, Vorträge und Aufsätze 1925-1962, ed. K. Fröhlich [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1966], pp. 223-240).

[76] Ibid., p. 186.

[77] Ibid., pp. 190-191.

[78] O. Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," JBL 74 (1955): 213-226; idem, "Secte de Qumran, Héllenistes des Actes et Quatrième Evangile," Les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte, no ed. (Colloque de Strasbourg) (Paris: P.U.F., 1957), pp. 61-74; and idem, "L'Opposition contre le Temple de Jérusalem, Motif Commun de la Théologie Johannique et du Monde Ambiant," NTS 5 (1958-59):157-173.

[79] Cullmann, "Samaria and the Origins," p. 192.

[80] See H. Hammer, Traktat vom Samaritanermessias. Studien zur Frage der Existenz und Abstammung Jesu (Bonn: Carl Georgi, 1913), esp. pp. 81-84. Hammer attempted to prove that Jesus and his disciples were really Samaritans. His work is marred by many gross errors. It was critically revised by Paul Kahle, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," Theologisches Studien und Kritiken 88 (1915):399-439.

[81] Bowman, "Samaritan Studies. 1," p. 308.

[82] Ibid., pp. 310-313.

[83] Ibid., p. 313.

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[84] Ibid., pp. 313-314.

[85] J. Bowman, Samaritanische Probleme: Studien zum Verhältnis von Samaritanertum, Judentum und Urchristentum (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1967) (see also our English trans. of this work: The Samaritan Problem, trans. A. M. Johnson, Jr. [Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1975], containing a new introduction by the author).

[86] J. Bowman, "The Samaritans and the Gospel," The Samaritan Problem, pp. 57-89.

[87] Ibid., p. 84.

[88] W. A. Meeks, The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology, Supplements to Novum Testamentum XIV (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

[89] Ibid., p. 318.

[90] G. W. Buchanan, "The Samaritan Origin of the Gospel of John," Religions in Antiquity, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1968), p. 175.

[91] Ibid., pp. 149-175.

[92] E. R. Goodenough, "John a Primitive Gospel," JBL 64 (1945):182.

[93] Buchanan,"The Samaritan Origin," pp. 158-159.

[94] Since Susanna is dated in the late first century B.C., this would mean that the Israel/Judah dichotomy continued into the post-exilic period and perhaps also into the time of Jesus and the N.T. as well. The implications of this will be discussed further in chapter IV.

[95] Ibid., p. 166.

[96] Ibid., pp. 167-168; 170-171.

[97] Ibid., p. 172.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid., pp. 172-173.

[100] C. H. H. Scobie, "The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity," NTS 19 (1972-73):390-414.

[101] Ibid., p. 407.

[102] Ibid., p. 404.

[103] Ibid., p. 407.

[104] B. W. Bacon (The Gospel of the Hellenists, ed. C. H. Kraeling [New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1933]) is usually considered to be the spokesman for the so-called "Hellenistic" faction, which would also include, to a greater or lesser degree, Bauer, Bultmann, and most of the German scholars, as opposed to the so-called "Jewish" faction represented by Burney, Schlatter, Manson, and the majority of the English scholars, and also to some degree Cullmann, although he really stands astride the two. This dichotomy is really based on a difference of emphasis, for while none of these scholars completely ignores the other side of the Tübingen dichotomy, each of them emphasizes either the Jewish or the Hellenistic sources as "better" for comparative studies of the Fourth Gospel. One of the purposes of this dissertation is to show that the Tübingen Jewish/Hellenistic dichotomy should be completely abandoned and that N.T. scholarship should proceed with new models which originate, for example, from the social structures of ancient Israel.

[105] Brownlee, "Whence the Gospel," p. 183.

[106] Ibid., p. 184.

CHAPTER III

IN SEARCH OF A MORE ADEQUATE METHOD

In Chapter I an introduction was given to the question of the cultural context of John and the method of structural analysis used in this thesis. In Chapter II a survey was presented of the various cultural contexts which have been proposed in the past for the Gospel of John as a whole.[1] In this chapter those objections will be discussed which could be raised against using structural analysis to determine the cultural context of John, then the method to be followed will be presented in more detail than was done in Chapter I.

Possible objections against using structural analysis to find the cultural context of John can be divided into two parts. The first objection concerns the traditional methods of form and redaction criticism. Why should a new method be used when others are available? In other words, why not use form and redaction criticism instead? This question can best be answered by presenting some of the weaknesses of these traditional methods, and suggesting why structural analysis is a useful supplement to them. The second objection, which can be linked to the first, is that structural analysis is inappropriate for answering questions concerning the cultural context of a literary work. More specifically, it has often been stated that structuralism is tantamount to its forerunner, Russian formalism. In other words, this objection assumes that structuralism is strictly an aesthetic and a- (or anti-) historical method which cannot be used to answer questions concerning a work's cultural context. Following the discussion of these two objections, we will discuss the question of the relationship of culture, language, and structural analysis, or the relationship of the author, his culture, and his text. In more technical terms, it has been argued that the structures of enunciation are either not amenable to structural analysis, or that this relationship has not been sufficiently investigated to produce substantial, valid results.

A. The Weaknesses of Traditional Methods of Biblical Exegesis

1. The Jewish-Hellenistic Dichotomy

In Chapter II it was noted that the question of John's cultural context has created two hostile groups of scholars, those posing a Jewish context, and those posing a Hellenistic context. As James Barr, among others, has shown, this dichotomy is an integral part of most modern biblical theology.[2] Furthermore, one of these camps, the Jewish, has almost constantly prevailed over the other from the widespread desire to assert that "Christianity is essentially Jewish," and "to delineate Jewish culture as the one truly religious culture."[3]

According to Barr, this position was created by a reaction "against the predominantly analytic and divisive techniques of literary criticism," and by a wish to find a common thread in the biblical books and sources with different origins. Secondly, writes Barr, there has been a strong reaction "against the 'Hellenistic' interpretation of large parts of the New Testament."[4] This agrees with what has been seen in Chapter II (see pp. 50, 52 above). But stranger still is the corollary belief that this predisposition towards the "Jewish" side of the Tübingen dichotomy insures objectivity in research by excluding "automatically our own preconceived ideas."[5] That assumption, as will be seen, is based on the erroneous Hegelian notion that our own culture is most similar to ancient Greek culture and most alien to ancient Hebrew culture. Such an assumption, carried to these extremes, would mean that research could be considered terminated before it began because any possible Greek influences on John would be excluded a priori. Indeed, as has been seen, many former studies of the question of John's context are like insipid movies: one knows how the story will end as soon as it begins. Despite this, even Barr is not willing to eliminate the Hebrew/Greek dichotomy as a solution to the problem.[6]

More significant, however, is the fact that this dichotomy is one of the basic assumptions of form and redaction criticism,[7] persisting despite the many scholars who have challenged its accuracy and relevance.[8] Archaeology has proven without any doubt that Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek were all widely used in Palestine at the time of Jesus.[9] This means that the Tübingen School's assumption, still followed by the majority of N.T. scholars,[10] that Christianity passed through at least two stages--first a Jewish stage untainted by Hellenistic influence, and then a Hellenistic stage--has been proved false. Since this is a basic assumption of form criticism which, in the words of Bultmann, "frequently enables us to determine whether this or that feature belongs to the older tradition or was composed later,"[11] we must be wary of the attempts of form critics concerning John's context.

2. Imprecise Literary Categories

But form criticism and its sister discipline redaction criticism have another problem--the impreciseness of the literary categories they use to analyze the Bible. This becomes apparent from the very name of the method, i.e., form criticism. For, as L. Honko notes, the word "form" reflects an imprecise differentiation among the more precise terms of style, structure, and genre which are all lumped together under the single term "form."[12]

Why are these imprecise terms, e.g., Gattung, type, form, formula, motif,[13] utilized? Or, more specifically, where did they come from? It can be shown that the origin of the problem is the failure of biblical scholars to keep pace with developments and changes in modern folkloristics and linguistics. For unlike the founder of Formgeschichte, Gunkel, who was well versed in the folklore research of his day, specifically that of the Grimm brothers,[14] form critics today have almost totally ignored the changes in modern folklore research since then.[15] Thus almost all modern form and redaction criticism is based upon the outmoded folkloristics of the Grimm brothers. Their obsolete evolutionary assumptions and archaic etymological and lexicographical methods are still being used almost exclusively. To discuss these problems briefly, three current misconceptions about genres, current among form critics today, are examined.

3. Misconceptions about Genres

First there is a common misconception among form critics that a biological model of evolution can be applied to genres. Second, and more important, there is a mistaken belief that all genres were originally closely connected to a specific *Sitz im Leben*. Third, there is a misconception that genres should be classified according to native *ethnic* categories, e.g., fairy tales, parables, etc., instead of by *analytical* categories which are not so dependent upon the themes or contents of the genres in question.[16] Although these three errors cannot be discussed in detail, their aspects germane to this study of John can be noted.

First, contrary to the present understanding of form criticism, there is no progressive, linear evolution or progress in languages, only random change.[17] Accordingly, linguistic genres do *not* necessarily increase in complexity as time passes. In fact, if genres follow the linguistic model, an assumption which Roland Barthes thinks is true,[18] the reverse is more probably the case, since linguistic structures generally move from complexity to simplicity, or, more precisely, towards greater efficiency. For example, ancient primitive languages or languages no longer in use generally have structures much more complex than modern languages currently in use. Observes Heller, "Linguistic evolution is for the most part directed towards efficiency."[19]

Form criticism, however, usually operates with the opposite Darwinian-Spencerian evolutionary model. It assumes that there are "component literary types which build up into complex literary types."[20] In other words, it assumes that single-cell organisms (or "types") follow a biological evolutionary model, combining to form larger, more complex organisms ~~or~~ types. From this form criticism moves to its basic assumption--that more complex literary types are later than simpler ones.[21]

To the contrary, modern folklorists and literary critics, such as René Wellek, conclude that Darwinian-Spencerian evolution is not an appropriate model for the study of literary genres.[22] In Honko's words, genres do not "grow naturally like flowers in a meadow," and literary criticism should not have a kind of "flower-picking mentality."[23] The belief that genres obey evolutionary laws is "strongest when he [the analyst] analyzes material deriving from a relatively limited cultural milieu."[24] Moreover, genres should not be classified on the basis of native categories,[25] nor on such a basis as believability, because the same genre may be believed in one culture and disbelieved in another.[26] More important, the events which may seem the least plausible and least important to the analyst are often asserted by the natives to be the truest and most important.[27] Hence it must be recognized that genres exist only as "ideal types" created by the analyst.[28] Thus it should come as no surprise that not one single genre has been adequately isolated or defined.[29]

Hence much of the work of form criticism is called into question. In the words of Robert Polzin, describing "the evolutionary development" of a "particular 'ethnological saga' largely by means of general assumptions about how such stories developed in Israel, i.e., from simple to complex form . . . and then using this analysis as a basis for tracing ' a history of the literary type of the ethnological saga'" is nothing more than circular reasoning.[30] It can be concluded with Robert C. Culley that were biblical scholarship to absorb the results of modern folkloristics it would realize that the determination of what is earlier and later "is much more difficult than is generally assumed."[31]

But even more important for the question at hand is the second misconception of form criticism--that concerning the role of the Sitz im Leben. As Tucker notes, it is generally assumed that if the genre can be correctly described, the Sitz im Leben will automatically be known.[32] It is also generally assumed that "different genres reflect different world views."[33] However, two contemporary folklorists, Dan Ben-Amos and Alan Dundes, state that a genre and a Sitz im Leben are not so closely connected that by knowing the first one can determine the second.[34] Moreover, circular reasoning appears when strange genres are created with contrived titles such as, "hymns sung in praise of Yahweh in the sanctuary on high occasions," or "the communal lament sung by the assembled congregation at times of need," etc.[35]

Certainly form criticism is not entirely useless, but it should be brought up-to-date and into agreement with the discoveries made in the social sciences, especially folkloristics and linguistics. As S. J. Schmidt puts it, in the history of science "facts do not falsify theories. . . . Rather, accepted theories are superseded by better theories."[36]

By presenting here a few additional problems in traditional methodology, perhaps a beginning can be made towards the presentation of some better theories. The problems will be divided into three parts: the atomization of biblical literature, biblical scholarship's neglect of linguistics, and the use of an evolutionary-diffusionist concept of history.

4. The Atomization of Biblical Literature

Eissfeldt noted in his Introduction to the Old Testament[37] that many form critical studies of the Bible have created such small units of tradition that they have neglected the larger literary units, such as the books as a whole. Koch replies that although this was once true that it is not true today.[38] But the outdated assumptions still prevalent about genres make one wonder whether Eissfeldt's criticism is not still valid.

Put briefly, the reason why form criticism fragments the books it studies and tends to neglect the books as a whole is its belief that this is necessary in order to remove alleged ambiguities or lacks of continuity. Moreover, as was noted above, form criticism assumes that each piece of tradition possesses its own Sitz im Leben or in the terminology used here, cultural context.[39] As Robertson has noted, traditional methods lead "scholars systematically to reduce ambiguity by dividing a text into one or more sources, and then positing for these sources origins in different historical periods, locales, or social contexts."[40]

Structural analysis, on the contrary, does not fragment the texts it studies but "confront[s] the ambiguity head-on" and generates its "interpretation out of the ambiguity."[41] This process better accords with the discovery of contemporary folklorists that when in so-called primitive cultures many different accounts of a single story are given, the narrators are not at all disturbed about the differences. Instead they consider all versions to be equally valid and acceptable.[42] It is the constants, not the variables, which characterize a genre such as a narrative or define it, so to speak. Hence if one studies only the variables, one is ignoring the discoveries of modern genre research.

Form critics claim that it was the hair-splitting atomization of the earlier so-called "literary criticism" method, or more precisely the "source criticism" of J. Wellhausen and his followers, that led to the creation of form criticism.[43] In other words, form critics believed that they too were avoiding the atomization of the biblical text. But the results of their research have been to accelerate the atomization of the biblical texts so that while the O.T. and N.T. authors could once "be counted on one's fingers," now "the number of persons and circles of tradition who had a part in the formation of the Old and New Testaments constitutes an incalculable choir."[44]

But is this how the biblical texts were really created, or is it merely the result of assumptions present in the method itself? Considering that the New Testament, unlike the Old Testament which took centuries to create, was produced in something less than two centuries, was there really enough time for the creation of the N.T. by such an assumed "choir" of authors and redactors? Surely objections should be raised against N.T. scholars adopting methods first developed on the Old Testament. For these reasons and because all research must be restricted in some way, this work omits many studies of the cultural context of John based on "sources" in the Gospel as opposed to its entirety.

5. The Neglect of Modern Linguistics

Form and redaction criticism are primarily based on a general linguistics which, according to Barr, was in use "over a hundred years ago."[45] At this point, a distinction should be made between the _science_ of linguistics and the _philosophy_ of language. The so-called "philosophy of language," used by many theologians and biblical scholars, is _not_ based on linguistics but on a philosophical-theological hermeneutics.[46] Indeed, although biblical scholarship _has_ kept pace with the modern _philosophies_ of language and hermeneutics, it has not kept up with the social sciences of sociology, anthropology, and linguistics, which many scholars believe have taken over the role which was formerly played by philosophy. Thus instead of developing an interest in modern semantics, traditional biblical criticism has continued to rely upon etymological and lexicographical studies to answer questions for which they are ill-suited. Of course, etymological studies are not useless, but it should be remembered that "the etymology of a word is not a statement about its meaning but about its history."[47] It is simply untrue that one can obtain an understanding of the meaning of a word by studying its history _alone_.[48]

Hence the currently used method of philology must not be used for what it was not designed to do. Philology is useful for helping beginning biblical scholars expand their vocabularies in order to hasten their ability to read the Bible in its original languages.[49] It is not, however, a suitable method for dealing with "the problem of semantics as posed by modern linguistics."[50] The difficulty is that philology is inherently atomistic.[51] It focuses upon what are not true semantic units, i.e., words, and neglects what are the true semantic units--the larger linguistic structures, e.g., units of discourse.[52]

While the social sciences for the past thirty years have largely abandoned historical and genetic explanations (or diachronics) for "systemic explanations (synchronics)," biblical scholarship has refused to change.[53] Such philological questions are not useless, but historical questions should be approached by means of a history more attuned to its sister social sciences --anthropology, sociology, etc.

6. The Evolutionary-Diffusionist Model of History

It was noted earlier that biblical theology makes the somewhat strange assumption that Greek culture is equivalent to contemporary western culture. The reason for this assumption should now be investigated. As was noted earlier in the first chapter, it begins with the influence of G. F. Hegel's philosophy of history.[54] In the words of M. Gaboriau, it has been assumed "ever since Hegel" that "our society keeps within its institutions or in its memory, all that others have been able to bring into being." In other words, "We can understand others, by bringing them within the unity of our gradual development."[55]

Now if one couples a cursory examination of Hegel's Philosophy of History with these observations, the belief that there is a direct connection, relationship, or similarity between

Greek culture and contemporary western culture can be readily seen. In short, such a Hegelian concept of history denies cultural diversity.[56] Again the evolutionary model appears, this time influencing the current understanding of history instead of the understanding of genres.

B. The Accusation That Structuralism Is Anti-historical

The charge is often made that structural analysis is useless for studying historical questions, e.g., the cultural context of John, because it is inherently a- or anti-historical and therefore ignores questions of external context. The question of the relationship between structural analysis and history can be divided into three separate but related questions. The first concerns the relationship between structuralism and its direct predecessor, Russian formalism, and is often called the question of the "formalist fallacy." The second concerns the alleged neglect by structuralism and formalism of the ethnographical context of literature. The third concerns their alleged neglect of history.

1. The Formalist Fallacy

Briefly defined, the "formalist fallacy" is the charge that structural analysis is totally unconcerned with the "meaning" or "content" of the literature it studies. In other words, it is charged that structuralism "refuses to acknowledge the presence of a cultural world beyond the literary work and a cultural system beyond the literary system."[57] This charge is partially based on the belief that structural analysis is synonymous with Russian formalism, and the latter, it is claimed, considers no factors beyond literature itself, factors such as socio-cultural data, and historical information.[58] In short, structuralism is believed to be formalism; and formalism "cannot adequately deal with diachrony" (i.e., history).[59]

For example, the "Hegelian"[60] critic, Frederic Jameson, charges that the formalists (structuralists for him) make a sharp distinction between form and content and that the content is discarded in favor of the form;[61] that the formalists neglect the ethnographical context of literature; and that they are unable (or unwilling) to deal with history.[62]

There have been a number of rebuttals of these three charges, but the one by Lévi-Strauss has perhaps been more influential than any other.[63] Lévi-Strauss argues, contra Jameson, that it is precisely these three points which differentiate structuralism from formalism.

a. The Question of Form and Content

In his review of Propp's Morphology of the Folktale, Lévi-Strauss accuses Propp and the other Russian formalists of separating form and content, which is a major difference, he believes, between formalism and structuralism.[65] But if Propp can be assumed to be a spokesman for the Russian Formalists, which is not at all certain,[66] then the charge may not be valid.[67] In any case, Jameson's charge appears to be unfounded. Neither structuralism nor formalism, it seems, are methods based on pure philosophical formalism. The argument needs to be carried further, however, by considering the question of their alleged neglect of the ethnographical context of literary works.

b. The Question of the Ethnographical Context

This question is extremely important for the study of John, since the discovery of its ethnographical or cultural context is the goal being sought here. While it seems questionable whether formalism and structuralism can be differentiated on the basis of a difference between form and content, a consideration of the cultural context does seem to establish a valid point of differentiation between the two.[68] As Susan Wittig notes, it is especially on this point that Lévi-Strauss is most critical of Propp and the Russian formalists.[69] Lévi-Strauss has written:

> The error of formalism is thus twofold. By restricting itself exclusively to the rules which govern the grouping of propositions, it loses sight of the fact that no language exists in which the vocabulary can be deduced from the syntax. The study of any linguistic system requires the cooperation of the _grammarian and_ the _philologist_. This means that in the matter of oral tradition the _morphology is sterile unless direct or indirect ethnographic observation comes to render it fertile_.
>
> ....
>
> We have denounced the error of formalism, which is the belief that the grammar can be tackled at once and the dictionary postponed.[70]

These statements are extremely interesting in comparison with what was said earlier about biblical theology's reliance upon etymology and philology and its neglect of grammar and syntax. For while the formalists may be said to have concentrated on the grammar (i.e., narrative grammar) and neglected the dictionary,[71] biblical theology has done precisely the opposite, i.e., it has concentrated on the dictionary, e.g., Kittel's TWNT, and ignored the grammar!

While Ferdinand de Saussure insisted that language must be studied without any reference to extralinguistic factors, such as the cultural context, etc.,[72] modern linguists, whose works have been just as influential as Saussure's on contemporary structuralists, have strongly emphasized the importance of ethnographic contexts.[73]

It is the American "structuralist" folklorist, Alan Dundes, who has most clearly addressed the question of the relationship between structural analysis and the cultural context. Dundes suggested that structural analysis should be divided into two schools, one proceeding from Vladimir Propp, which he calls "syntagmatic" and which is relatively uninterested in the cultural context, and another proceeding from Lévi-Strauss, which he calls "paradigmatic" and which is more interested in the cultural context. But even the "syntagmatic" branch's method is not inherently "anti-contextual."[74]

More important, Dundes further states that a structural analysis can be performed on the context of narratives, context being defined as the "specific social situation" and "identity" of the narrator and his audience.[75] In other words, there is no dichotomy between the study of folklore in literature and folklore in culture. The basic structural methodology is the same for both and the context should never be neglected.[76]

It can be concluded that the "formalist fallacy" charge against structuralism is false. It also seems to be invalid against the formalists represented by Propp. In any case, the path remains clear to proceed on the course charted.

c. The Question of Anti-Historicism

It is also necessary to consider the final part of the "formalist fallacy" charge against structural analysis, i.e., that structural analysis is inimical to or incompatible with history and historical research. The question of the relationship between history and structural analysis is just as important as the question of context. It is inextricably related to the two previous questions composing the "formalist fallacy." For as Hayden White notes, the setting of an event within its context is the very basis of the method of historical explanation intended to explain that event.[77]

However, many scholars, noting the apparent irreconcilability of diachrony and synchrony, have argued that a synchronic method cannot and should not be used to study diachronic (or historical) processes. They even go so far as to assert that structuralism is anti- or a-historical.[78]

Heda Jason, for example, states that "questions of historical change" such as "reconstructing past stages of development, ascertaining how a particular oral literature came to look as it does today, or predicting the changes it will undergo tomorrow--lie outside synchronic description"--they can only be studied by diachronic means.[79] And Susan Sontag declares that Lévi-Strauss is "radically anti-historicist"--his view of history has a "demonic" character.[80]

What can be said in defense of structuralism (and formalism) in the light of these charges? As Robert Scholes replies emphatically, a statement such as Jameson's, "that formalist or structuralist [literary] criticism have proved unwilling or unable to deal with the temporal dimension of either particular works or literature in general is simply untrue."[81] Furthermore, as Scholes says, the formalist view of history makes a "healthy compromise." On the one hand, it accepts "the notion that extra-literary fact condition[s] the genesis of literary works." On the other hand, "it insists that the fundamental external conditioner of any work of literature is the literary tradition itself." Thus "far from ignoring history, the formalists had an appropriately formal view of it."[82] Norman Petersen is correct: "To dispatch structural analysis by saying that it is ahistorical is simply too facile."

Actually, "structural analysis came on the scene as a response to rampant evolutionism and historicism."[83]

2. Lévi-Strauss's View of History and Evolution

As Robert Weimann notes, it was the work of Lévi-Strauss "which first made possible the insertion of historical concepts into structuralist thinking."[84] But like structuralism in general, Lévi-Strauss has again and again been accused of anti-historicism.[85] However, from his debates with two critics, Jean Paul Sartre and Paul Ricoeur, it can be seen that he is really opposed to the Hegelian, diffusionist, and evolutionary concepts of history and not to history per se.

a. Lévi-Strauss, Sartre, and Hegel

It was Sartre who began the debate when in his Critique de la Raison Dialectique he accused Lévi-Strauss of studying men "as an entomologist studies ants,"[86] to which Lévi-Strauss responded by devoting the last chapter of his The Savage Mind to an attack upon Sartre's concept of history.[87] For Lévi-Strauss, Sartre made a false distinction between modern, historical man as opposed to contemporary, primitive man with the argument that only the former possessed written histories while the latter had only oral traditions, which for Sartre made them inferior beings. Commenting on this distinction, Marc Gaboriau noted that it was primarily based upon Hegel, who had assumed that western civilization was, in the words of Lévi-Strauss, "the most advanced expression of human evolution." Hence other non-western cultures, and especially the so-called "primitive" ones, are to be viewed as "survivals" or examples of earlier stages in our own development.[88]

According to Lévi-Strauss, "constructions" such as Sartre's which attempt to make the people studied "reflections of our own society" by use of "our categories and our problems" were erroneous--the result of an over-estimation of the historical method.[89] At the same time, Lévi-Strauss rejected another of Sartre's claims --that historical knowledge is superior to other kinds of knowledge. Lévi-Strauss responded that it is necessary to discard, in Bob Scholte's words, "the largely Western myth of historical progress" which Scholte thinks is part of "the cultural context of a Judeo-Christian tradition."[90] More knowledgeable theologians would dispute this, however, by noting that "the myth of historical progress" is only characteristic of the liberal theologies of the late nineteenth century and not, for example, of the theologies of other periods within Christian history as well as orthodox Judaism.

Lévi-Strauss is thus not opposed to history per se but to an Hegelian evolutionary scheme of history which makes modern western culture the norm against which other cultures are to be judged.[91] This schema is based on "philosophic assumptions" which simply cannot be verified or confirmed, and thus they and the histories produced from them are "purely conjectural."

It also interferes with the making of valid comparisons. In the words of Lévi-Strauss, "The method consists of taking the part for the whole; in concluding, because certain aspects of two civilizations . . . bear resemblances, that there is analogy from all points of view."[92]

It is clear that Lévi-Strauss's concept of history carefully treads a median path between both the Hegelians and Marxists.[93] While "primitive societies" are thought by Sartre to lack history and "simply live out their existence in a sort of ritualistic myth," this is not true for Lévi-Strauss. Sartre in his Critique de la Raison Dialectique asserts that "each man carries with him, at any given moment, a set of characteristics and capacities cumulated throughout his past." Lévi-Strauss, however, states that history is "both ordered and rational, but in such a way as to imply no initial or final causes." Moreover, for Lévi-Strauss, "men make distinctions--attribute meanings--which are not immanent in the course of events themselves, but are solely a product of human conceptualization."[94] This is why Lévi-Strauss views history as fulfilling the same function as myth for primitive man. Each society possesses a history, but whereas primitive societies are "impervious" to history, modern societies "interiorize history . . . and turn it into the motive power of their development."[95]

When questioned about the relationship of history as a method to structural analysis, Lévi-Strauss replies that the two are not incompatible: "If in my field we have the means of using history, then we must use it whenever we have the opportunity." The ideal situation would clearly be to study peoples "on both a synchronic and diachronic dimension at the same time." Certainly, "it would be inconceivable to set about studying myths or social organization in a given population without first having ascertained all the possible facts, including its history."[96] Throughout his Mythologiques Lévi-Strauss "has repeatedly shown that structural analysis brings contributions to the solution of historical questions."[97] That helps to justify the use of structural analysis for the task at hand, i.e., the quest for the cultural context of John. But it still does not fully justify the suitability of structural analysis for the study of the Bible, for the question remains whether it can or should be used for biblical research. In particular, Paul Ricoeur has raised this question, and Lévi-Strauss seems to agree with him on that point!

b. Lévi-Strauss and Ricoeur

In a discussion between Lévi-Strauss and Ricoeur, Ricoeur argued primarily that the Bible should not be subjected to structural analysis because structural analysis has proven itself only when used to study what he calls totemic (Sartre's "primitive") societies as opposed to kerygmatic (or Sartre"s contemporary "western") societies. But Lévi-Strauss was just as opposed to Ricoeur's categories as he was to Sartre's. He asked if Ricoeur's dichotomy did not ultimately lead,

> if not to a re-introduction of the traditional distinction between a primitive mentality and a civilized mentality, at least to a more reduced, let us say miniature distinction between two kinds of pensée sauvage: one falling entirely within the scope of structural analysis, and another containing something else as well?[99]

For Lévi-Strauss, this bargain "would give me more than I bargained for."[100] When pressed further on the question whether structural analysis can be used to study "historical" societies and their diachronic structures, he affirmed: "After all, the fact that events are situated in time is not sufficient to exclude them from structural analysis; it merely makes the latter more difficult."[101]

Having had his kerygmatic/totemic dichotomy rejected, Ricoeur questioned the legitimacy of Edmund Leach's work on the Bible (Genesis as Myth: and Other Essays [London: Jonathan Cape, 1969]) which had used a modified version of Lévi-Strauss's method. Lévi-Strauss responded by noting that although it was "a very brilliant study," he himself was "very hesitant to embark on anything of a similar kind" because he had "scruples which are similar to those of Paul Ricoeur." Lévi-Strauss's "scruples," however, are somewhat strange in the light of his previous positions with regard to the myths he studied (see p. 93 n.42 above, and p. 108 below). For example, he notes that through editorial activity the Old Testament had had its myths "deformed." And he thinks much work would have to be done by "biblical specialists," work "aimed at rediscovering the mythological and archaic residue underlying Biblical literature." Further, he observes, to avoid a circular argument one would have to have available an "ethnographic context" which would be "the way of life, the techniques, the ritual and the social organization of the societies whose myths we wish to analyze." And he also believes that this context is missing except for "the one that can be extracted from the Biblical texts." Hence Lévi-Strauss concludes that he has decided to avoid a structural analysis of the Bible because it lacks an ethnographic context, and he does not have the expertise for the necessary "preliminary exegesis."[102] This would seem to be a major roadblock to the path taken here.

However, Leach has noted that this view of the Bible is not consistent with Lévi-Strauss's views of the myths he had successfully studied.[103] For example, it is strange that Lévi-Strauss would argue for a pure, uncorrupted, or correct text for the Old Testament when he rejected this requirement for the South American myths he studied (see p. 107 above).[104] In fact, in Leach's view, it is precisely the editing of the Bible which "makes these 'historical' texts appropriate for structural analysis" because it creates in the Bible "randomized conditions" so that "the underlying structure of the story ceases to be under the rational control of the editors and generates a momentum of its own."[105] Or to paraphrase Lévi-Strauss (who contradicted Marx's assertion that religion is man-made), it would not be men who created revelation, but revelation which created man![106]

With regard to the second objection by Lévi-Strauss--that the biblical ethnographic context is "presque entièrement défaut" ("almost entirely lacking"), Leach says, "This seems to me something of an exaggeration" because "Lévi-Strauss has shown no hesitation about applying structuralist analysis to the myths of the Tsimshian and the Bororo, people of whom our ethnographic knowledge is sketchy to say the least." Moreover, although "our knowledge of Ancient Judaea is very unsatisfactory . . . it is far from non-existent."[107] It would seem that Leach is on firm ground with his objections.

3. The Literary Structuralists and History

Earlier it was noted that almost all structuralists can be roughly divided into two "schools" which Alan Dundes has called "syntagmatic" (from Propp and the Russian formalists) and "paradigmatic" (from Lévi-Strauss). Two disciples of the "syntagmatic" or formalist branch will be surveyed--specifically Roland Barthes and A. J. Greimas; they appear to be less interested in history than Lévi-Strauss and Leach. In addition, there is yet another "school," The Geneva School, which is more interested in the problem of history than either of the other two. Since a discussion of Propp's disciples leads directly to a discussion of the Geneva School's "genetic structuralism," this section will be divided into three parts: first, Roland Barthes's concept of history, then A. J. Greimas's, and finally the Geneva School.

a. Roland Barthes and History

There have also been some distorted conceptions of Roland Barthes's attitude towards history. For despite the opinion that Barthes is radically anti-historical, Barthes clearly states that he wants to bring about "a radical conversion [of history], analogous to that which may have caused men to shift from royal chronicles to history proper."[108] To bring about this change, Barthes argues that the true history of literature must be "amputated" from the individual author and become "sociological" or "concerned with activities and institutions, not with individuals."[109] When this course is not followed, adds Barthes, the interpretation is "cut off" "at the very moment" when it might be "enlightening."[110] In other words, "the [traditional] historian of literature stops short once he approaches history itself."[111]

The basic problem with present literary history, according to Barthes, is a confusion of literature and history.[112] Literary history is indeed possible, but literature cannot be treated like any other product of history. There is "something else than its history, the sum of its sources, influences, or models."[113] If a literary history is desired, the author must be let go and the writer's milieu must be conceived

> more organically, more anonymously, as the locus of certain habits and thought, certain implicit taboos, certain "natural" values, certain material interests of a group of men actually associated by identical or complementary functions--in short, as a portion of a social class.[114]

On the subject of interest to this work, the cultural context, Barthes notes that although it is extremely difficult to obtain a milieu from a literary work,[115] the interpreter must still postulate "the existence of a relation between the work and something besides the work." But whereas it was once believed that the literary work was a _product_ of its milieu, this concept has "given way gradually to the notion of _sign_." The "work is the sign of something beyond itself" and literary criticism should consist of "deciphering the _signification_, in discovering its terms, and chiefly the hidden term, the _thing signified_ (_signifié_)."[116] In other words, to discover the cultural context of a literary work a sociology of literature is necessary.[117]

b. A. J. Greimas and History

Greimas seems to be even less interested in history than either Lévi-Strauss or Barthes. Moreover, he has very little interest in the relationship between culture and literature.[118] Greimasian structuralists seem to be the major proponents of a purely aesthetic, as opposed to a historical, literary criticism.[119]

But this position taken by his disciples seems to be distorted when Greimas's writings on the subject of structure and history are examined. Far from radically separating structure and history, or synchronic and diachronic analysis, Greimas has written at least one article in which he attempts to bridge the gap between the two.[120] In this article he clearly refutes the claim that structuralism is an "_anhistorique_" or antihistorical method. On the contrary, like Barthes, Greimas asserts that "the structuralist methodology probably prepares a renewal of historical research." For if a better knowledge of "the general rules of structural transformation" were obtained, then knowledge would be obtained about "the specific character of diachronic transformations." This in turn would produce "the passage from the philosophy of history to the science of history."[121] Structural analysis thus offers the hope of finally escaping from Hegelian historiography. How it can be done is shown by a brief comment on Lucien Goldmann and the Geneva School's view of history.

c. Lucien Goldmann, The Geneva School, and History

The Geneva structuralists can be differentiated from the Parisian structuralists, e.g., Barthes, Greimas, et al., precisely on the question of the roles of history and the individual author in the production of literature.[122] Goldmann, in his *Pour une Sociologie du Roman*, criticizes the French structuralists for their neglect of history and the function of social and cultural structures. As a correction Goldmann proposes the creation of a "*genetic* structuralism" which would illuminate the relationships "between the artistic work and the social group from which it emanates." But more important for the argument here, Goldmann believes that these relationships "are of the same order as the relations between the elements of the work and its ensemble."[123]

C. Culture and Language: Towards A Sociology of Literature

1. The Problem of "The Others" (Insiders vs. Outsiders)

The basics of the method to be used for discovering the cultural context of John will now be presented in detail. It is Goldmann who serves as the transition point with his discussion of the question: what is history? In The Human Sciences and Philosophy, Goldmann notes that two social sciences, sociology and anthropology, have now taken over "the ideological role formerly played by philosophy."[124] He contends that along with this change a "formalistic system" has been created "that tends to eliminate in a radical way all interest in history and the problem of meaning."[125] He thinks that these changes can be attributed to the beginnings of the physical sciences which had learned through experience that "a realm of knowledge can rightfully be claimed by positive science to the extent to which it frees itself from interference by philosophy."[126] Acting on this heritage from the natural sciences, the human and social sciences have now come to believe that philosophy has no raison d'être.

Goldmann, however, disagrees with this assessment of philosophy, arguing that philosophy will continue to be necessary for the human sciences "in order for them to be scientific."[127] Goldmann states that history and sociology are complementary and dependent upon one another. To obtain "a concrete science of human reality" it is necessary to have a "historical sociology" or a "sociological history."[128] This follows from Goldmann's definition of "the object of history," which is "to provide knowledge, as rigorous and precise as possible of events in their specificity and particularity, without any regard for individual or collective interest or practical utility."[129]

Once such an "objective" history is obtained, of what value is it? Goldmann argues that its value is certainly not "to provide lessons which teach men how to act in the present or in the future in order to realize the goals which they set for themselves." As an example, he notes that a history of the Punic Wars is rather useless for teaching someone how to win a war today. Instead the purpose of history, according to him, is to provide a solution to what he calls "the problem of the 'Other,'" or the problem of "we vs. they."[130]

This is also apparent in all linguistic structures when it is realized that the personal pronouns "I," "Je," "Ich," etc., actually have no plural form because "We" is "I" and "You."[131] It is the problem of the "We" which Goldmann believes is "the very question upon which historical epistemology is founded." He adds: "The ontological basis of history is the relation of men with other men, the fact that the individual 'I' exists only against the background of the community."[132] Thus the practical importance of history is that "we learn from it about men who, in different circumstances and with different means, for the most part inapplicable in our own time, fought for values and ideals which were similar, identical, or opposed to those of today. . . ."[133]

While one can disagree with Goldmann's evaluation of the role of philosophy in the human sciences, his understanding of the importance of history, together with its relationship to sociology, seems to be quite useful. In order to show the value of his "we-they" dichotomy for the task at hand, it is necessary to examine its role in the relationship between language and culture.

While nineteenth-century anthropology and sociology conceived of cultures or societies as being composed of institutions,[134] this institutional conception has been discarded today in favor of a new model of culture which is that of communication.[135] The change has important implications for any discussion of the possible cultural context of John. For the new model of culture "a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members."[136] The anthropological structuralism of Lévi-Strauss begins with this conception of culture as communication and the realization that a culture is communicated to every member of any particular society from birth in the same unconscious way that one acquires one's native language. It follows then that, like language, every culture has certain behaviorial norms or "rules," comparable to grammatical rules, which are always present, despite the fact that they may be frequently broken by errant members of that society. Just because cultural norms, mores, or etiquette, etc., are not always followed does not negate their existence, any more than the presence of non-grammatical speech in a society negates the existence of grammatical or linguistic rules. If, however, these cultural or linguistic rules are constantly broken, the result may be their change and the creation of new rules to take their place.

These rules are especially important with regard to how narratives or stories are told. Colby puts it quite clearly when he asks:

> When we tell a story, is the way we tell it culturally determined? Is freedom only an illusion? A linguistic analogy suggests an answer: we are free to say anything we like, but if we wish to be understood, we have to follow the rules of our language when we say it.[137]

This does not mean that linguistic structures and cultural structures, or world views, should be equated, as some biblical scholars have attempted to do in the past.[138] The relationship between culture and language is much more complicated. What is it?

Lévi-Strauss has discussed the relationship between culture and language in great detail.[139] He concludes that the relationship "is an exceedingly complicated one," for the two are related to one another yet neither can be said to be the product or result of the other.[140] Both language and culture are "products of activities which are basically similar," and both are the result of "the human mind."[141] He further concludes that "between culture and language there cannot be no relations at all, and there cannot be 100 per cent correlation either. Both situations are impossible to conceive."[142] But despite these differences, his exploitation of this relationship allows Lévi-Strauss to reveal some of the same unconscious mental structures underlying both linguistic and cultural structures.

In his book on Totemism, for example, Lévi-Strauss made some very interesting observations about religion and social structure which he concluded exist "in a harmonic relationship" where religion and social structure "duplicate each other."[143] However, unlike Freud and others who argued that the totemic animal species and foods chosen as totems were objects of worship or revered because they were "good to eat," Levi-Strauss argued that totems were "good to think," i.e., their function was to act as classifying categories for abstract thought.[144] The primary role of these "totems" was to serve as "conceptual support for social differentiation." Lévi-Strauss wrote:

> It is because man originally felt himself identical to all those like him (among which Rousseau explicitly says, we must include animals) that he came to acquire the capacity to distinguish himself as he distinguishes them [cf. Gen. 2:20!], i.e., to use the diversity of species as conceptual support for social differentiation.[145]

Edmund Leach adds that the need to distinguish oneself and one's society, clan, nation, culture, etc., from that of other men is also necessary for one's survival.

> For human (as distinct from animal) survival every member of society must learn to distinguish his fellow men according to their mutual social status. But the simplest way to do this is to apply transformations of the animal-level categories to the social classification of human beings. This is the key point in Lévi-Strauss' structuralist approach to the classical anthropological theme of totemism.[146]

This is also true, as Leach points out, for people in modern, contemporary western societies where "we . . . have been taught from infancy to be self-centered and individualistic, to fear the impurity of foreign things--a doctrine which we embody in the formula 'Hell is the others.'" According to the Genesis myths, however, the message is the opposite--"Hell is ourselves."[147] According to Lévi-Strauss, "There is no 'I' that is not part of a 'We,' and indeed every 'I' is a member of many 'We's.'" In one sense there are an infinite number of "we-groups," but "in practice we cut up the continua," so that "my particular 'we,' the people of my family, my community, my tribe, my class--these are altogether special, they are superior, they are civilized, cultured; the others [i.e., 'they'] are just savages, like wild beasts."[148]

Thus in both language and culture, binary oppositions are an integral, basic part of the process of human thinking. Every description of the world or world view is constantly segmented into categories of the form "p is what not-p is not."[149]

This basic we-they dichotomy of cultural structures can also be seen to be operative in the rules of incest and exogamy which are almost completely universal among the different cultures of the world. For "there are women of our kind with whom sex relations would be incestuous and there are women of the other kind with whom sex relations are allowed"; and it is the ability and necessity to distinguish ourselves from others which underlies the continuation of the human race.[150] This binary we/they opposition thus underlies every kinship structure.[151] It is also that which makes all meaning and understanding possible. And it is also an inherent part of all religious communication. Before this communication can be discussed, the insider/outsider dichotomy must be examined in greater detail. In particular, under what conditions does this we-they or insider-outsider dichotomy appear most strongly?

R. K. Merton, a sociologist who has studied the insider-outsider phenomenon in detail, states that it is during periods of "great social change" and "acute social conflict . . . attended by much cultural disorganization and reorganization" that the insider-outsider dichotomy becomes most apparent. During such times the normal "differences in the values, commitments, and intellectual orientations of conflicting groups become deepened into basic cleavages, both social and cultural." The result is that "as the society becomes polarized, so do the contending claims to truth."[152] If a culture were ideal, then "everyone would have perfect access to truth and knowledge." But this is impractical "since each person can only know very little of the truth and must trust others to know the rest." But when the insider-outsider dichotomy is pushed to its limits, "There then arises claims to group-based truth," or "insider truths vs. outsider truths."[153]

The insider claim to exclusive truth can be put into simplest terms in the statement: "You have to be one in order to understand one."[154] According to insider doctrine, it is impossible for any outsider "no matter how careful or talented," to gain "access to the social and cultural truth."[155] Insider doctrine has been extended to the point where it is asserted that not only must one "be one in order to understand one; one must be one in order to understand what is most worth understanding."[156] Furthermore, when the in-group is glorified, especially in "the stress of acute conflict," e.g., during wartime, it becomes chauvinist.[157] Similarly Merton observes:

> When a nation, race, ethnic group, or any other powerful collectivity has long extolled its own admirable qualities, and, expressly or by implication, deprecated the qualities of others, it invites and provides the potential for counterethnocentrism.[158]

This observation, along with its reciprocal to follow, will prove to be useful with respect to the question of "the Jews" in John to be discussed in Chapter IV. Merton notes, however, that there is a complementary sociological rule reciprocal to that just quoted. He writes:

> . . . when a once largely powerless collectivity acquires a socially validated sense of growing power, its members experience an intensified need for self-affirmation. Under such circumstances, collective self-glorification, found in measure among all groups, becomes a predictable and intensified counterresponse to long-standing belittlement from without.[159]

But perhaps even more interesting is the situation when the "truth" of the in-group becomes accepted by outsiders. "It then gives rise . . . to the familiar case of the converted Outsider validating himself, in his own eyes and in those of others, by becoming even more zealous than the Insiders in adhering to the doctrine of the group with which he wants to identify himself . . . ."[160]

But sometimes it becomes difficult to determine to which in-group a person belongs because individuals are constantly confronting one another simultaneously as Insiders and Outsiders. This creates the many divisions within every social group or movement.[161] Fortunately, however, as Merton observes, structural analysis avoids what he calls "the over-socialized concept of man in modern sociology" (i.e., the doctrine which assumes that there is a total coincidence between social position and individual perspectives) by asserting that there is a "tendency for" incomplete determination of socially patterned differences in the perspectives, preferences, and behavior of people variously located in the social structure.[162]

These shifts between being an insider and outsider can be very useful in attempts to illuminate the cultural context of a particular literary work. For if there is nothing fixed about the boundaries separating Insiders and Outsiders, then "as situations involving different values arise, different statuses are activated and the lines of separation shift."[163] Thus by examination of the shifts in the differentiations or oppositions made in a literary work, i.e., the writer's view of who and what belongs inside his world, and who and what belongs outside it, his situation should become apparent. Such shifting may explain why, for instance, the role of the Jews in John's Gospel is ambivalent.

This does not mean, however, that the content of the basic insider doctrine, i.e., one must be one in order to understand one, need be accepted as true. If it were, as Max Weber observed, the validity of all historical writing would be destroyed.[164]

Perhaps even more interesting, however, for the question of John's relationship to its adversaries, e.g., the Jews or the disciples of John the Baptist, is the situation which arises when two groups are competing to have their own insider "interpretation of reality accepted as the correct one." In such a case, Merton observes, "it may happen that one of the groups takes over from the adversary some fruitful hypothesis or category--anything that promises cognitive gain," as its own.[165] Moreover, the same intense conflict between two in-groups may produce "highly selective perceptions" in each camp "of what is going on in the other." Merton continues: "They come to see in the other primarily what their hostile dispositions alert them to see and then promptly mistake the part for the whole." This eventually produces a total neglect of one group by the other so that "each group becomes less

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and less motivated to examine the ideas of the other." The ultimate result is a "rigidified all-or-none doctrine." "And woe to those who stand in the middle. . . ."[166] Indeed, that has already been seen with regard to the Hellenistic vs. Jewish interpretations of John's Gospel in Chapter II.

But what about the insider-outsider divisions in religious communities? Studies made of modern religious sermons show that the we-they dichotomy appears in situations of religious communication as well as in those of secular culture. In fact, the preacher always carefully chooses the distinctions he uses according to the audience which he assumes will be sitting in front of him.[167] This agrees with Northrup Frye's observation that the in-group achieves its unity from its scorn of out-groups.[168] Moreover, this observation partially explains the phenomenon of heresy accusations that occur within the in-group. Attacks upon alleged "heretics" within the in-group are necessary, in Frye's view, for the group to define itself.[169] Wienold adds, concerning mass communication, that it functions as "representative re-enactment of conflicts that marked the lives of the viewers, and of possible solutions to such conflicts"; and that "communication between an author and a recipient (a reader) does not occur but rather there are group structures that govern the way communications are received and made use of." Finally, according to Wienold, "It is the community inside these group structures that regulates the understanding of what has been transmitted."[170]

From what has been said, it should be clear that much information about the cultural context of John can be found by studying the insider-outsider oppositions which appear in the Gospel. The dualism of the Fourth Gospel has always been something of a mystery to its interpreters. The binary oppositions between heaven/hell, above/below, this world/other world, etc., have most often been approached from a theological perspective. But relatively few studies have attempted to explain these oppositions sociologically. However, as J. L. Fischer has observed, the sociological study of such dualisms in folktales from other cultures has shown that these dualisms contain much sociological information.[171] Moreover, there are interlocking relationships within religious binary oppositions such as heaven/hell, economic oppositions such as rich/poor, and political or tribal oppositions such as we/they.[172] Following his definition of "binary oppositions" as "certain imcompatibilities which are constantly maintained by a special group and which possess a normative value,"[173] Lévi-Strauss perceived that the oppositions or contrasts which a native perceives in his environment "will be (and already have been) directly embodied in cultural systems and products."[174]

But what models should be used to examine these cultural oppositions? Lévi-Strauss has attempted to solve this problem by asking the question: "If I were a native and wanted to differentiate myself from other men what would I use?"[175] But this approach has the disadvantage that the interpreter is always tempted to impose his own model on the culture he is studying. The method which will be followed here is that referred to by Daniel Patte when he writes:

> Another structural methodological approach is used by many analysts. Each text is analyzed on its own merits so as to discover the constraints or structures, which contribute to the production of its meaning effect. No model [e.g., the semiotic square] is consciously presupposed by the analyst. In such a case the analyst is led to emphasize the constraints closest to the surface of the text, i.e., the structures of the enunciation and the cultural structures.[176]

But while Patte prefers to study such "cultural structures" by traditional historical means,[177] this chapter has argued throughout that it is also possible to use structural analysis to study them. Even Patte agrees that such an approach to the level of the cultural structures "is quite useful because it allows for a more systematic study."[178] Furthermore, it has been recommended by a biblical scholar, Wayne Meeks, in an article on the Fourth Gospel.[179] He has written:

> It is, therefore, only by paying attention to the underlying structure of the components in a system of myths that an interpreter can "hear" what the myths are "saying," or, to put it another way, can discover the function which the myths have within the group in which they are at home.
>
> It is astonishing that attempts to solve the Johannine puzzle have almost totally ignored the question of what social function the myths may have had.[180]

With regard to the Johannine community which stands behind the Fourth Gospel (and the we/they oppositions discussed above) Meeks adds the following observations:

> We know at least a few things about its [i.e., the Johannine community's] history--all from direct allusions in the documents themselves. The group had to distinguish itself over against the sect of John the Baptist and even more passionately over against a rather strong Jewish community, with which highly ambivalent relationships had existed. It suffered defections, conflicts of leadership, and schisms. I shall argue that one function of the "symbolic universe" communicated in this remarkable body of literature was to make sense of all these aspects of the group's history.[181]

Meeks then continues with "an attempt . . . to discern the function which the motif 'ascent and descent' serves first, within the literary structure of the Fourth Gospel, then, by analogy, within the structure of the Johannine community and its relationships to its environment."[182] He noted that if the concepts in John are merely studied as a series of ideas, the analyst will be forced to conclude that the Johannine "metaphors are irrational, disorganized and incomplete." But by asking what was the function of "this particular system of metaphors" for the Johannine community, "then even its self-contradictions and its disjunctions may be seen to be means of communication."[183]

Even more significantly in the light of the discussion above, Meeks argues specifically that the Fourth Gospel was not "a missionary tract" but "a book for insiders."[184] Hence there is an insider/outsider dichotomy present in the Fourth Gospel which, says Meeks, "defines and vindicates the existence of the community that evidently sees itself as unique, alien from its world under attack, misunderstood, but living in unity with Christ and through him with God."[185]

The question still remains, however, whether one can go beyond these observations by Meeks and attempt to identify the specific group from which John originated and for which it was written. To simplify matters, Meeks' view will be accepted for the moment that John was written only for its own community and not as a missionary tract for outsiders. This would simplify somewhat the study of the insider/outsider oppositions existing within it. But a final resolution of the problem must remain uncertain until the structures of enunciation are examined.

There are basically three "structures of enunciation": first the relationship between the narrator and the author of a literary work; second, the narrator and his audience; and finally, the narrator and his characters. At the conclusion of this brief discussion, some of the earlier structural studies of Edmund Leach and others of the world view and kinship structures present in the Bible will be noted in order to show their utility for the task at hand.

2. The Structures of Enunciation

As Dan Patte notes, the "structures of enunciation" are "the constraints imposed upon . . . discourse by the author and his concrete situation in life." According to Patte, there are basically two: "the structure (or logic) of the author's argument," and "the constraints of the concrete situation in which the discourse is uttered," including the place of the discourse in the broader argument of the author, and the situations in life

(Sitze im Leben) with their impact upon the author.[186] Hence to seek the structures of enunciation is a quest similar to that of the old Redaktionsgeschichte method, an "attempt to ascertain the unique theological purpose or purposes, views, and emphases which the evangelists have imposed upon the materials available to them."[187] (This is noted here since in the chapters to follow some use will be made of the contributions of earlier Redaktionsgeschichte studies of the Fourth Gospel.)

In brief, the term enunciation (French, énonciation) "designates the creative use that the speaker makes of the language in function of [sic] his situation in life and of his intentionality."[188] For communication to take place both the sender and receiver must share the same system of signification.[189] Moreover, this act of enunciation is represented in the text by the first and second personal pronouns which represent the sender and receiver respectively.[190]

However, the "sender" and "receiver" do not have to be specific, "real" historical persons. For example, the "sender" of a narrative may be composed of at least three distinct individuals. There may be a "real author," or an "implied author," or a "narrator." Likewise, the "receiver" of a narrative may include the "real audience," the "implied audience," or what may be called the "narratee," who may be external or internal to the story, i.e., even characters in the story may be the story's "audience" or "receiver."[191] Thus one must always be careful to keep these distinctions in mind even if the author and narrator are indeed actually the same person.

a. The Author and the Narrator

Structuralist literary critics are usually careful to distinguish the "real" author from the narrator. But it must be stated at the outset that the "real" author can usually be known only by means of extra-literary information, and not every feature of a text corresponds to some particular personality trait of its author.[192] This distinction between the real author and narrator is well stated by S. Chatman when he notes that the narrator or speaker is "the one currently 'telling' the story" while the real author is "the ultimate designer of the fable [= the story]." It is the author "who also decides, for example, whether there _is_ to be a narrator and if so, how prominent his or her presence shall be." Moreover, this narrator may appear in different ways. He may be a real character in the story, or "an intrusive outside party," as the narrator of _Tom Jones_ (by Henry Fielding). Finally, he may be completely absent, as in the stories of Hemingway.[193]

For the rather rare instances when the author speaks in his own name the old rhetorical term _diegesis_ (from Plato) is used. On the other hand, when the author speaks through one of his characters (who may or may not be a narrator), the Aristotelian term _mimesis_ is used. The distinction roughly corresponds to the linguistic terms "narrative" and "discourse" respectively.[194] Finally, Donato gives an excellent discussion of the distinction between the author and the narrator when he states: "The authorship or the voice that sustains a linguistic or narrative unit must not in any way be identified with a linguistic term or with a narrative subject." He continues by noting that the relationship between the author and narrator is "problematical," and that it is only a "naive realism" that "tends to identify them" or to confuse what structuralists call the "sujet de l'énoncé" (subject of the narrative statement) with what they call the "sujet de l'énonciation" (subject of the enunciation). Donato summarizes: "The narrator in fact within the narrative is not, nor can he be, presented as identical to the subject. The narrator . . . is literally a different man from the other self who is to write the book."[195]

b. The Narrator and His Reader (or Hearer)

As has been repeatedly stated in this thesis, the reader must know something of what the writer knows if he is to receive the message. But, as is well known, the amount of knowledge that the reader can possess depends upon his proximity to the actual situation or cultural context in which the author wrote. Still the reader must have a minimum of information. This absolute minimum may be the language in which the author wrote, including both his grammar and vocabulary.[196] But in addition in the case of narratives such as the Fourth Gospel, the reader must also know how to read and understand them. In other words, the reader must have an unconscious knowledge of narrative grammar by having read other narratives. As Jonathan Culler puts it:

> . . . texts have meaning for those who know how to read them--those who, in their encounters with literature, have assimilated the conventions that are constitutive of literature as an institution and a means of communication. It is in terms of literature or poetry that poems have meaning, and one could say, paraphrasing Lévi-Strauss, that the critic's task is to show "comment la littérature se pense dans les hommes."[197]

That is: the narrator and his audience (in oral tradition) must share certain common experiences, images, or stereotypes.[198]

This can all be expressed more precisely in structuralist terms as a sharing of linguistic and literary structures which constrain both the reader and author (in written tradition). As Dan Patte writes:

> . . . the structures select the pertinent semantic features, i.e., the semantic features which will participate in the meaning effect. Thus the "meaning effect" of a text can be apprehended by the readers insofar as when reading the text, they are using the very structures which the author used.[199]

But this does not mean, as Barthes notes, that the reader must discover the so-called "hidden author." Rather he should create a dialogue between two historical situations, i.e., the author's and his own.[200] There are invariably gaps in the text which the reader is expected to fill in with his own knowledge.[201] Where these gaps cannot be filled because there is too wide a gap between the author and reader, as Dan Patte notes, "The reader must learn, or reconstruct, the cultural structures which the author used more or less spontaneously." Without such a reconstruction, "our perception of the meaning effect of these texts" will be "blurred."[202] But the possibility of the reconstruction of these "cultural structures" is not as uncertain as Patte seems to assume. To see this, it is only necessary to consider the problem from the standpoint of the author.

Like the reader, the author is also constrained by his readers, and thus "every writer is dependent upon the milieu, views and ideology of his readers."[203] Hence, as Jauss notes, whenever the context of a work is totally unknown this cultural chasm can often be overcome "if the text is considered in contrast to the background of works which the author could expect his contemporary public to know."[204] That remedies the problem somewhat, but other factors which can enable one to reconstruct these cultural structures in even greater detail also exist. For like his reader, the author must possess plots, clichés, linguistic and narrative structures, and core-clichés.[205] In a sense, it is by manipulating these plot clichés and structures that the narrator controls his audience.[206] Moreover, as has been noted above, in the very process of narration, the narrator will be influenced by the audience he faces.[207] This principle is also valid for written works when the author has no readers in mind. As J. Culler notes, even the author himself is a reader who will not be satisfied with his own work if it does not create meaning for himself alone.[208]

But is it possible for later readers to learn something about a literary work's intended audience? Structuralists, formalists, and sociolinguists reply that the answer is undoubtedly yes. For example, K. L. Pike notes that if a course were intended to teach someone how to play baseball, then it would be designed to teach baseball quite differently to those who already know how to play cricket, the English game, as opposed to those who only know how to play chess.[209] Accordingly, one could argue that the Gospel of John would have been written one way if it were intended to teach the Christian Gospel to Jews, and another way if it were intended to teach the Gospel to Samaritans!

Even more significant, and useful, is the fact that the linguistic system forces the author to consider the very physical location of his body. As Umberto Eco notes, everyone speaks through his body position with respect to other bodies with which he interacts in a particular space. For example, says Robey: "If I were speaking standing up instead of sitting, if I moved towards you, if I were walking among you instead of remaining hierarchically fixed in my place, the very sense of my words would be changed."[210] This observation becomes particularly useful for studying John when one considers such expressions as "here-there," "near-far," which appear in the topographical codes in reference to particular place names.

Meeks observes:

> For one's "world" in the sociology of knowledge is understood as the symbolic universe within which one functions, which has "objectivity" because it is

> constantly reinforced by the structures of the society to which it is specific. Faith in Jesus, in the Fourth Gospel, means a removal from "the world" because it means transfer to a community which has totalistic and exclusive claims. The Fourth Gospel not only describes, in etiological fashion, the birth of that community; it also provides reinforcement of the community's isolation. The language patterns we have been describing have the effect, for the *insider* who accepts them, of demolishing the logic of the world, particularly the world of Judaism, and progressively emphasizing the sectarian consciousness. If one "believes" what is said in this book, he is quite literally taken out of the ordinary world of social reality. Contrariwise, this can hardly happen unless one stands already within the counter-culture group or at least in some ambivalent relationship between it and the larger society.[211]

c. The Narrator and His Characters

It is often true, as Roman Jakobson notes, that the personality and situation of the storyteller is present in "the distribution of points of emphasis, in the choice of nomenclature, and *attributes of the dramatis personae*. . . ."[212] Robert Scholes puts this more specifically when he notes that the reader "in any scene of mixed emotions" shares "the feelings of a particular character or linked set of characters more fully than those of the others." This is produced by what Scholes calls "a kind of emotional law." "If the dramatist wants us engaged in the scene, he must encourage us to focus our interest narrowly enough so that it can become intense."[213] In this way, the writer exercises control over his readers. It follows that it is possible to examine the plots and characters present in a particular society or literature, and missing in another, in this case, e.g., the

Synoptic Gospels, in order to be able to "characterize the ideology of a certain ethnic milieu."[214]

Thus the first clue to the cultural context and the meaning of any narrative is the "contrast or polarity of characters" which the author has created.[215] Moreover, this task in delineating John's cultural context becomes even more probable in the light of a discovery by the Russian formalist Meletinsky: "The relationships of the hero and the villain-antagonist usually are built on the opposition one's own--alien [i.e., we/they, insider/outsider], and are projected onto different planes: home-forest (infant-witch); our kingdom-another kingdom (youth-dragon); one's own family-another family (stepdaughter-stepmother)."[216] Viewing them in terms of what has been said earlier about insider-outsider distinctions defining culture and history, one can readily see that cultural structures are present in the Fourth Gospel and are accessible by studying the oppositions which its author purposely created for his audience of insiders. But even this method must be carefully used. As Lévi-Strauss has noted, it must be carried out by considering the results of historical research already done on John and the larger volume of which it is a part, i.e., both the Old and New Testaments.

But before we begin a study of the insiders and outsiders in John, and especially the role of the Jews with which Chapter IV is concerned, it is well to present some of the models which will be used and which are taken from some earlier structural studies of the biblical world view.

3. Previous Structural Models Used to Study the Bible

As Lévi-Strauss notes, there are three steps to be taken in order to define a semantic field for study. One must:

> (1) define the phenomenon under study as a relation between two or more terms real or supposed;
> (2) construct a table of possible permutations between these terms;
> (3) take this table as the general object of analysis which, at this level only, can yield the necessary connections, the empirical phenomenon considered at the beginning being only one possible combination among others, the complete system of which must be reconstructed beforehand.[217]

Thus one must begin with a model created from the object under study. A model should not be confused with a structure;[218] it is merely a scholarly construct which one must always be willing to modify as the research proceeds.[219] One refines and tests it in order to discover the structures actually operative in the system under examination.

One must do everything possible to avoid imposing one's own alien models on the system being studied. There are essentially three ways to abstract a model objectively from a particular empirical reality. One can use an "ideal type" like that used by the sociologist Max Weber; one can use something like Hempel's "classificatory types"; or one can use a "structure of the extreme type."[220]

For many reasons, the "ideal types" of Max Weber seem to be most appropriate for this study. First, as the discussion above has shown, the question of the cultural context of John is essentially a sociological one. Secondly, Weber's categories were specifically created for the study of a religious phenomenon, i.e., the relationship between protestantism and capitalism. Finally, as will be seen in Chapter IV, both the form and content of Weber's ideal types seem to have many points of similarity with the results derived from earlier structural studies of the Old Testament genealogies and world views, although the latter are based on the very different categories of Lévi-Strauss. Weber's concept of his ideal types and Lévi-Strauss's concept of structure are closely related.[221] Indeed, Lévi-Strauss intended his "structures" to be direct descendants of Weber's ideal types "redefined" and "tightened."[222]

However, as Lévi-Strauss attempted to do, Weber's ideal types will be "redefined" and "tightened." Nevertheless, it would seem that by using Weber's ideal types, as well as some models which can be shown to be applicable to the social structures present in the Old Testament, a greater degree of objectivity will be insured. Although Weber's types and especially his priestly/prophetic dichotomy will become more relevant after the presentation of the models to be introduced in Chapter IV, it appears that a good beginning can be made here by presenting some of Edmund Leach's and K. R. Andriolo's results of their analyses of Old Testament and New Testament genealogies with the specific insider-outsider distinctions they discovered therein.

a. The Leah-Rachel Tribal Division

In his study of the genealogies given in the books of Kings and Joshua, Leach, while following the methods of Lévi-Strauss, discovered that "the text of the Old Testament represents the relation between the various tribal groups involved as one of binary segmentation of the most consistent kind." In particular, the Old Testament genealogies distinguish "very precisely the exact 'degree of foreignness' which separates one group from another."[223] As Lévi-Strauss noted, all social groups or segments of society differentiate themselves from others by means of emblems and symbols, or emblematic or symbolic objects. According to the type of community considered, such a differentiation "may be vested . . . in a flag, a coat of arms, a saint, or an animal species [i.e., as in totemism]."[224]

With this in mind, to find such signs in the Gospel of John, signs which would point one to the cultural structures present in the Fourth Gospel in order to be able to identify the group from which it originated, a logical place for one to begin looking for them would appear to be in the New Testament. But instead it may be best to begin by examining those binary segmentations present in the Old Testament which Leach and Andriolo have discovered. This approach is approved by W. A. Meeks when he states that Leach's study of the Old Testament genealogies may be "a clue to the proper understanding of these peculiar relationships in Jn."[225]

Leach noted in Joshua 14-22 a basic "segmentary opposition between the descendants of Leah (i.e., Judah) and the descendants of Rachel (i.e., Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin)."[226] Moreover, he saw in the book of Kings this same binary structure in an opposition of dramatis personae which can be described as the opposition between "Good Southerners [i.e., the descendants of Leah] (us)/Bad Northerners [i.e., the descendants of Rachel] (foreigners)."[227] In other words, in these two Old Testament books a structural examination of the dramatis personae reveals that the House of Judah, considered to be the descendants of Leah, are antithetical to the Houses of Joseph (Ephraim) and/or Benjamin (as descendants of Rachel).[228]

The next chapter will show that this dichotomy holds true for the Gospel of John and the Synoptics. While Matthew and Mark agree with Kings and Joshua that heroes and "good guys" come from the House of Judah, and antagonists from Joseph and Benjamin, these roles seem to be almost precisely reversed in Luke and John where the "good guys" come from the descendants of Rachel. Lest one dismiss these generalizations too hastily by citing a few contrary cases, one should review the discussion presented earlier about exceptions (pp. 115-116 above); and it should also be remembered that this Leah/Rachel dichotomy is only a model or "ideal type" and is not expected to exist empirically.

But Leach's discovery would not be so significant were it not for the fact that another anthropologist, Karin R. Andriolo, independently confirmed the Leah/Rachel dichotomy in another study of the Old Testament "world view" present in Genesis.[229] By a structural study of the genealogies present in Genesis, Andriolo discovered, like Leach,[230] that there is a correlation between the genealogy in the Leah-Rachel story and "the world view of ancient Israel."[231] More important, however, Andriolo stated that "the different groups which assembled in the tribal confederacy still preserved remnants of their traditional affiliation with their land and their distinct past and ancestry."[232] In other words, the people of ancient Israel used their tribal ancestors to preserve the rules of endogamy and exogamy in the same way that the totemic cultures studied by Lévi-Strauss used different animal species in order to make these same necessary distinctions. But while the difference between Jacob and Esau was the means ancient Israel used to differentiate between herself and her neighboring (but "outside") cultures, i.e., Jacob: Esau :: insiders : outsiders, the two wives of Jacob, Leah and Rachel, were used to signify the "diversity within the uniqueness" of Israel, that is the insiders vs. outsiders within the global "family" of the nation of Israel.

In Chapter IV to follow, the Leah/Rachel dichotomy will be traced throughout the Old Testament. Moreover, it will also be seen that Max Weber's priestly/prophetic ideal types can be correlated with the dichotomy between Leah and Rachel to a surprising degree so that the following equivalences generally hold true: Leah : Rachel :: Priestly : Prophetic (from Weber). Furthermore, as Leach observed, the Leah/Rachel dichotomy also corresponds to a topographical division between Southern and Northern Israel respectively. As Leach notes, the principal roles of the major dramatis personae throughout the Old Testament (and also the New Testament as will be seen) can be divided into the following set of binary oppositions:

Israelite	--Foreigner (e.g., Philistine, Amalekite, Ammonite, Geshurite, etc.)
House of Judah	--Houses of Joseph (Ephraim) and/or Benjamin (as descendants of Rachel)
Wives who are the daughters of Israelites	--Wives (and/or concubines) who are the daughters of Foreigners
Fathers	--Sons
Full siblings (same father, same mother)	--Half-siblings (same father, different mother)
Legitimate king	--Usurper king
Priest	--Non-priest [Weber's prophet?][233]

These dichotomies from Leach will be the models with which Chapter IV begins. From what has been said in this chapter, it should be clear that they possess advantages lacking in earlier models, such as those of the Tübingen School. Of course, only by testing them can their value be proven. However, it should be noted, with Leach, that the Leah/Rachel opposition is also historically represented in the existence of the divided monarchy with

Israel in the north and Judah in the south.[234]

With regard to the question whether it is legitimate to apply these Old Testament dichotomies for study of the later time period when the Gospel of John was written, Leach states that a study of Matthew's genealogy for Jesus contains four women, Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba, who played important structural roles in Solomon's genealogy. A structural study of these four women shows that they assured that Solomon was "the legitimate heir to all forms of land title [of the nation Israel] however derived."[235] This alone, Leach asserts, explains their presence in Matthew's genealogy. More important, however, it shows that the Rachel/Leah dichotomy continued to be respected and valid as late as the time of the Gospel of Matthew.

However, since John unfortunately lacks a genealogy for Jesus (which would be extremely useful for the task at hand), one is forced to consider the structural relationships among the dramatis personae who appear in the Fourth Gospel, as well as the topographical references present in it in the light of the Leah/Rachel dichotomy and what has been said in this chapter concerning insiders and outsiders and narrative structures (see pp. 122, 131-134 above).

b. The Structural Status of the Samaritans in Late Judaism

To conclude this chapter, it would be well to present briefly a few of Leach's observations about the peculiar role played by the Samaritans in the insider-outsider dichotomies present in the Old Testament. Leach notes that Judaism considered the Samaritans to be "semi-foreigners." But the Old Testament world view had been confused by the creation of two kingdoms, Judah in the South and Israel in the North. Consequently the distinction between Israelite/Foreigner was not "clear-cut." It contained "various shades of gray," and the burning question throughout Israelite history, which (except for some O.T. books) was written almost entirely from the southern Judean point of view, concerned the question whether the northerners (Israel or the Samaritans) were "real Israelites or foreigners." Since Jeroboam recognized holy places other than Jerusalem, 1 Kings 12:25-35 casts him in the role of a villain; and "consistent with this there is a recurrent tendency to treat the Northerners as altogether heathen."[236] But as Lévi-Strauss has noted, whenever binary oppositions are present in myths, such as the insider/outsider one, there must be some kind of mediation because of the laws of exogamy and endogamy, i.e., one must marry someone who is both outside his own family and clan and still to some extent inside the group. In order for such a mediation to take place there must be intermediary categories. Thus Leach notes:

> . . . it is the nature of real political communities that they consist of self-discriminated groups which are at any point in time either mutually antagonistic or in alliance.[237]

In other words, cultures are constantly in a state of differentiating insiders and outsiders.

Leach continues:

> . . . a rule of endogamy provides a basis for expressing the unitary solidarity of a religious community, the chosen people of God. In real life religious communities and political communities seldom coincide. There is a near incompatibility between a rule of endogamy and a taboo against incest. There is a total incompatibility between a rule of endogamy and the recognition that society consists of potentially antagonistic groups allied by marriage.[238]

In other words, insiders must marry outsiders if they are to preserve their cultural rules. Yet the "outsiders" cannot be too far "outside" (i.e., too foreign) without dangerously breaking the cultural rule of endogamy and thus threatening the existence of a distinctive religious community. Leach continues:

> The final editors of the Biblical texts were members of an established Jewish church whose members thought of themselves as the direct successors to the House of Judah (as manifested in David) and of the Kingdom of Judah (as governed by Rehoboam and his successors). In polar opposition to the Jewish church stands the world of the Gentiles. In polar opposition to David and Rehoboam stand Foreigners (as exemplified by, e.g., Philistines). But just as in the real world there were intermediate categories such as Samaritans who were neither Jew nor Gentile, so also traditional "history" provided intermediate categories, "the descendants of Rachel," "the House of Joseph," "the tribe of Benjamin," "the Kingdom of Jeroboam," "the Calebites," "the Edomites." It is in the ambiguities of the relations between the Men of Judah and these other historical-legendary-mythical peoples that we see the "resolution" of the endogamy/exogamy incompatibility described above.[239]

But just as Leach thinks that most studies by biblical scholars of social structures in the Bible are "anthropologically naive,"[240] Leach is also almost totally ignorant of many important studies by Old Testament scholars such as A. Alt, G. von Rad, and R. Smend of these very same divisions within Israel, not to mention those by John Bowman and Oscar Cullmann of the Samaritans which have been briefly noted earlier. Hence a task of Chapter IV will be to place Leach's discoveries within the context of this scholarship, to refine them, and then relate them to the question of the role of "the Jews" in John.

From what has been observed, however, concerning the relationship between insiders and outsiders and between protagonists and antagonists, it would seem to be extremely unlikely that the author of the Fourth Gospel and his native culture considered "the Jews" (and they have yet to be identified) to be members of his group of "insiders." However, it remains to be seen if John's insiders can be defined in more detail, and whether or not, although the "Jews" in John's Gospel may be outsiders, the "outsiders" in question are entirely foreigners, or only "outsiders" within the group (see pp. 123, 142-144 above) created for the purpose of insuring the insiders' survival by allowing them to maintain the necessary cultural rules for exogamy and survival.

NOTES--CHAPTER III

[1] See the discussion of the problem of atomization of biblical literature (pp. 92-94 below) for justification for restricting the survey in Chapter II to those positions dealing with the Gospel *as a whole* and neglecting those works (e.g., R. T. Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970] among others too numerous to mention) which consider only "sources" in the Gospel.

[2] J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 8-20.

[3] Ibid., p. 8.

[4] Ibid., p. 9.

[5] Ibid., p. 279.

[6] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[7] See especially R. Bultmann and K. Kundsin, *Form Criticism*, trans. F. C. Grant (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962), pp. 17-18; and K. Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition*, trans. S. M. Cupitt (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), p. 104.

[8] See especially J. Ferguson, "Athens and Jerusalem," *Religious Studies* 8 (1972):1-13; J. G. Gager, "Some Attempts to Label the *Oracula Sibyllina*, Book 7," *Harvard Theological Review* 65 (1972):91-97; H. Koester, "ΓΗΩΜΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ : The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity," *Harvard Theological Review* 58 (1965):279-318; Howard Marshall, "Palestinian and Hellenistic Christianity: Some Critical Comments," *NTS* 19 (1973):271-287; R. Murray, "Defining Judaeo-Christianity," *Heythrop Journal* 15 (1974):303-310; C. Thoma, "Judentum und Hellenismus im Zeitalter Jesu," *Bibel und Leben* 11 (1970):151-159.

[9] See, for example, R. H. Gundry, "The Language Milieu of First Century Palestine: Its Bearing on the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition," *JBL* 83 (1964):404-408.

[10] See the remarks by Oscar Cullmann in his *The Johannine Circle*, trans. J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), pp. 29-32.

[11] Bultmann and Kundsin, Form Criticism, p. 18.

[12] The error goes back to a confusion in the now obsolete Anglo-Saxon and German folkloristics. On this point see L. Honko, "Genre Analysis in Folkloristics and Comparative Religion," Temenos 3 (1967):49.

[13] On the confusion between these terms and the inability of biblical scholars to differentiate them, see Koch, The Growth, pp. 3, 4 n.5, 5, 56; Norman Petersen, "On the Notion of Genre in Via's 'Parable and Example Story: A Literary-Structuralist Approach,'" Semeia 1 (1974):153; and G. M. Tucker, Form Criticism of the Old Testament (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), p. 12. For example, on the imprecision and general uselessness of the "motif" as a valid unit of folkloric classification or comparison, from the structural point of view, see V. Propp, The Morphology of the Folktale, trans. L. Scott, 2nd ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), pp. 12ff.; and Alan Dundes, "Texture, Text and Context," Southern Folklore Quarterly 28 (1964):253-254.

[14] See Tucker, Form Criticism, p. 5.

[15] A fact acknowledged by K. Koch, The Growth, pp. 14-15.

[16] On the difference between "ethnic" as opposed to "analytic" genres, see Dan Ben-Amos, "Analytical Categories and Ethnic Genres," Genre 2 (1971):275-301.

[17] Robert Scholes, Structuralism in Literature (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 18.

[18] See R. Barthes, "An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative," New Literary History 6 (1975):239ff.

[19] L. G. Heller, Communicational Analysis and Methodology for Historians (New York: New York University Press, 1972), p. 16.

[20] Koch, The Growth, p. 23.

[21] According to form critics, there is an "evolution" or "growth" to these forms, types, genres, etc., and they believe that this "evolution" produces the "mutations" or "mixed types" of genres which they are unable to classify. On this, see Koch, The Growth, pp. 24-25, 29, 37, 51, 73, 90 n.44; and Tucker, Form Criticism, p. 8.

[22] René Wellek, "The Concept of Evolution in Literary History," in For Roman Jakobson, ed. M. Halle et al. (The Hague: Mouton, 1956), p. 660; and R. D. Masters, "Genres, Language and Evolution," Semiotica 2 (1970):296, 298-299.

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[23] L. Honko, "Genre Analysis," p. 57.

[24] Ibid. Cf. the similar comments by J. Barr, Semantics, pp. 290-291; and B. Siertsema, "Language and World View (Semantics for Theologians)," The Bible Translator 20 (1969):4 on biblical theology's neglect of linguistic structures other than Hebrew and the mistakes and problems that have resulted from its restricting itself to a "relatively limited cultural milieu."

[25] Ben-Amos, "Analytical Categories," pp. 275-301; and H. Jason, "A Multidimensional Approach to the Study of Oral Literature," Current Anthropology 10 (1969):419.

[26] B. Nathhorst, "Genre, Form and Structure in Oral Tradition," Temenos 3 (1968):130.

[27] J. L. Fischer, "The Sociopsychological Analysis of Folktales," Current Anthropology 4 (1963):244.

[28] Honko, "Genre Analysis," p. 61.

[29] Ben-Amos, "Analytical Categories," p. 275; and Dundes, "Texture, Text," p. 252.

[30] R. Polzin, "'The Ancestress of Israel in Danger' in Danger [sic]," Semeia 3 (1975):82.

[31] R. C. Culley, Studies in the Structure of Hebrew Narrative (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), p. 40.

[32] Tucker, Form Criticism, p. 15.

[33] Ibid., p. 21.

[34] Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," Journal of American Folklore 84 (1971):4; and Dundes, "Texture, Text," pp. 251-265.

[35] Tucker, Form Criticism, p. 80.

[36] S. J. Schmidt, "On the Foundation and the Research Strategies of a Science of Literary Communication," Poetics 7 (1973):17.

[37] O. Eissfeldt, Introduction to the Old Testament (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968), p. 5.

[38] Koch, The Growth, p. 103.

[39] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[40] David Robertson, "Hugh C. White on Roland Barthes: A Response," Semeia 3 (1975):144.

[41] Ibid.

[42] D. P. Funt, "The Structuralist Debate," The Hudson Review 22 (1969-70):626-627; and C. Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, vol. I, trans. C. Jacobson and B. G. Schoepf (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1967), p. 213.

[43] See Koch, The Growth, p. 72.

[44] Ibid., p. 100.

[45] Barr, Semantics, p. 278.

[46] Ibid., pp. 275-276.

[47] Ibid., p. 109 (cf. p. 107).

[48] In Jonathan Culler's words, "Language is a system of interrelated items and the value and identity of these items is defined by their place in the system rather than by their history" (J. Culler, Structuralist Poetics [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973], p. 12).

[49] Barr, Semantics, p. 289.

[50] Ibid., p. 296.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid., pp. 265-266; 269. For a good discussion of true semantic units and their relationship to words, see U. Eco, "Social Life as a Sign System," in Structuralism: An Introduction, ed. David Robey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 64-69.

[53] See N. Petersen, "On the Notion of Genre," p. 154.

[54] Hegel's philosophy of history continues to be just as influential among secular as among biblical historians. See H. R. Jauss, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," New Literary History 2 (1970-71):28.

[55] Marc Gaboriau, "Structural Anthropology and History," in Introduction to Structuralism, ed. M. Lane (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 157. Italics added.

[56] Ibid., p. 159. For further reading on Hegel's concept of history, see G. F. Hegel, Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1842-1928). Part III, Chapter 3, entitled "Die Poesie." One may also want to look at these references: G. D. O'Brien, "Does Hegel Have a Philosophy of History?" History and Theory 10 (1971):295-317; N. Rotenstreich, "The Ontological Status of History," American Philosophical Quarterly 9 (1972): 49-50; and H. White, "Interpretation in History," New Literary History 4 (1972-73):283-285.

[57] Scholes, Structuralism in Literature, p. 11.

[58] See W. O. Hendricks, "Folklore and the Structural Analysis of Literary Texts," Language and Style 3 (1970):96.

[59] Scholes, Structuralism in Literature, p. 76.

[60] It should be noted that the description of Frederic Jameson as a "Hegelian" comes from Jameson himself and from Scholes, Structuralism in Literature, p. 75.

[61] It should be noted that when it began biblical form criticism was also accused of separating form and content and of ignoring the latter (see Koch, The Growth, p. 38).

[62] F. Jameson, "Metacommentary," Modern Language Association 86 (1971):12, 13, 15. The same charge is also made by E. W. Said, "Abecedarium Culturae: Structuralism, Absence, Writing," Tri-Quarterly 20 (1971):46, and by the phenomenologist Philip Lewis, "Language and the French Critical Debate," Yale French Studies 45 (1970):154-165.

[63] C. Lévi-Strauss, "Structure and Form: Reflections on a Work by Vladimir Propp," in his Structural Anthropology, vol. II, trans. Monique Layton (New York: Basic Books, 1976), pp. 115-145. See also his remarks on this subject in idem, Totemism, trans. R. Needham (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), p. 91; and in idem, The Raw and the Cooked, trans. J. and D. Weightman (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970), p. 98.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid., esp. pp. 115, 131, 133-135.

[66] However, this is not at all certain. See I. Levin, "A Belated Open Letter to Vladimir Jakovlevic Propp," Linguistica Biblica 23-24 (1973):63.

[67] Compare, for example, these two statements by Propp and Lévi-Strauss on the question of form and content. First, Propp says:

> "We proceed from two assumptions of a theoretical nature. The first is that wherever there is unity or cohesion of content and form in folklore, content comes first: it gives itself its form and not the opposite. This priority is retained notwithstanding philosophical discussions as to the nature of form and content" (V. Propp, "Generic Structures in Russian Folklore," Genre 4 [1971]:228).

Then, Lévi-Strauss says:

> "Contrary to formalism, structuralism refuses to set the concrete against the abstract and to recognize a privileged value in the latter. Form is defined by opposition to material other than itself. But structure has no distinct content; it is content itself, apprehended in a logical organization conceived as property of the real" (Lévi-Strauss, "Structure and Form," p. 115).

[68] See A. Dundes, "Introduction" to Propp, Morphology, 2nd ed., p. xii. But this is challenged by E. Meletinsky, "Structural-Typological Study of the Folktale," Genre 4 (1971): 258.

[69] See Susan Wittig, "The Historical Development of Structuralism," Soundings 58 (1975):153.

[70] Lévi-Strauss, "Structure and Form," pp. 141, 144. Italics added.

[71] Ibid., p. 145 n.5.

[72] See Howard Gardner, The Quest for Mind (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), p. 44.

[73] These linguists emphasize the importance of ethnographic contexts: R. Jakobson, "Linguistics and Poetics," Style in Language, ed. T. Sebeok (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960), p. 353, reprinted in The Structuralists from Marx to Lévi-Strauss, eds. R. and F. De George (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1972), p. 89. For a discussion of Jakobson's six parts of speech including context see Scholes, Structuralism in Literature, p. 31f.; C. S. Peirce, Collected Papers of C. S. Peirce, eds. C. Hartshorne and P. Weiss (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931-58), p. 40; K. L. Pike, Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior, 2nd rev. ed. (The Hague: Mouton, 1967), pp. 28-30, 68; Jerzy Pelc, "On the Concept

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of Narration," Semiotica 3 (1971):12f.; S. J. Schmidt, "On the Foundation and the Research Strategies," p. 29; J. J. Katz and J. A. Fodor, "The Structure of a Semantic Theory," Language 39 (1963):176-178; and Teun A. Van Dijk, "On the Foundations of Poetics," Poetics 5 (1972):101.

[74] Dundes, "Introduction" to Propp, Morphology, 2nd ed., p. xiii.

[75] Dundes, "Texture, Text," p. 261; see also K. A. Watson, "A Rhetorical and Sociolinguistic Model for the Analysis of Narrative," American Anthropologist 75 (1963):245.

[76] So A. Dundes, "The Study of Folklore in Literature and Culture: Identification and Interpretation," Journal of American Folklore 78 (1965):136. See also Z. S. Harris, "Discourse Analysis," Language 28 (1952):29; N. Frye, "The Critical Path: An Essay on the Social Context of Literary Criticism," Daedalus 99 (1970):271, esp. 338; Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition," p. 4; and especially on the "structures of context" in R. D. Abrahams, "The Complex Relations of Simple Forms," Genre 2 (1969): 109.

[77] Hayden White, "Interpretation in History," pp. 300-301 and p. 301 n.33.

[78] See, for example, R. A. Spivey, "Structuralism and Biblical Studies: The Uninvited Guest," Interpretation 28 (1974): 144; and Frye, "The Critical Path," p. 276; Said, "Abecedarium," pp. 59-60; Paul Ricoeur, "The Narrative Form," Semeia 4 (1975): 64; and idem, "Outline," Semeia 4 (1975):29.

[79] Jason, "A Multidimensional Approach," p. 414.

[80] Susan Sontag, "The Anthropologist as Hero," in Claude Lévi-Strauss: The Anthropologist as Hero, eds. E. and T. Hayes (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), p. 194.

[81] R. Scholes, "The Contributions of Formalism and Structuralism to the Theory of Fiction," Novel: A Forum on Fiction 6 (1972-73):135.

[82] Ibid., p. 139. In the words of Roland Barthes, "A little Formalism takes one away from history, but a lot brings one back to it." (R. Barthes, Mythologies, trans. A. Lavers [New York: Hill and Wang, 1972], p. 112).

[83] Petersen, "On the Notion of Genre," p. 172 n.23. Italics added.

[84] Robert Weimann, "French Structuralism and Literary History: Some Critiques and Reconsiderations," New Literary History 4 (1973):452. Specifically, in an article entitled "History and Anthropology," Lévi-Strauss makes the important distinction between the historical method of the historian and the methods of evolutionists and diffusionists. (C. Lévi-Strauss, "History and Anthropology," Structural Anthropology, vol. I, pp. 1-28; cf. the discussion of this article by I. Rossi, "Structuralism as Scientific Method," The Unconscious in Culture, ed. I. Rossi [New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1974], pp. 76-77).

Actually, however, it was the linguist Roman Jakobson, a former member of the Russian Formalists, who with his colleague J. Tynyanov first added a consideration of "diachronic analysis" to "synchronic analysis" in the so-called Prague School of linguists. It has been said that it was only with the addition of this diachronic dimension that the transition was made in linguistics from formalism to structuralism (see R. Scholes, "The Contributions of Formalism and Structuralism to the Theory of Fiction," p. 135). Jakobson and Tynyanov went so far as to state that although it was once fruitful to make a "sharp distinction between the synchronic (static) and the diachronic dimension" that "the advances of synchronic analysis force us to reconsider the principles of diachronic analysis" with the realization that "the history of the system is itself a system" and that pure synchrony is an "illusion" (see R. Jakobson and J. Tynyanov, "The Jakobson-Tynyanov Theses," New Left Review 37 [1966]:61). And it should be added that Lévi-Strauss, the father of structuralism, follows Jakobson's view of history and not Saussure's (see G. Mounin, "Lévi-Strauss's Use of Linguistics," The Unconscious in Culture, ed. I. Rossi, p. 38). But perhaps the most definitive statement by the early Russian formalists on history was produced by B. Eichenbaum ("Literary Environment," Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views, eds. L. Matejka and K. Pomorska [Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971], pp. 56-65).

[85] See, for example, N. Rothenstreich, "On Lévi-Strauss's Concept of Structure," Review of Metaphysics 25 (1971-72):519-523.

[86] See on this statement by Sartre, D. M. Levin, "On Lévi-Strauss and Existentialism," The American Scholar 38 (1968):73ff.

[87] C. Lévi-Strauss, "History and Dialectic," The Savage Mind, trans. anony. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 245-269.

[88] M. Gaboriau, "Structural Anthropology," p. 158 (citing C. Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, vol. I, p. 6). According to Gaboriau, this notion originated from Hegel who had argued that the only difference "between past and present societies is that of

the stages of a genesis" with a "progressive complication" so that every society (other than Hegel's own) illustrated a stage or "'degree' of history . . . animated by the same 'Idea'" (Gaboriau, "Structural Anthropology," p. 158).

[89] Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, vol. I, p. 16.

[90] Bob Scholte, "Comments on the Essays on Part Three: Structural Anthropology as an Ethno-logic," The Unconscious in Culture, ed. I. Rossi, p. 445.

[91] Gaboriau notes that it is these Hegelian "assumptions to which Lévi-Strauss is referring when he criticizes a certain 'philosophy of history.'" Although Lévi-Strauss does not name Hegel, Gaboriau writes that "it is not difficult to recognize the fundamental tenets of Hegel's philosophy and history" (Gaboriau, "Structural Anthropology," p. 158). See also E. Leach, Claude Lévi-Strauss (New York: Viking Press, 1970), pp. 7-10; and Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, vol. I, pp. 76-77. Contrary to this position, Robert F. Murphy ("On Zen Marxism: Filiation and Alliance," Man 63 [1963]:17-19) and M. D. Sahlin ("On the Delphic Writings of Claude Lévi-Strauss," Scientific American 214 [no. 6, 1966]:131-136) have attempted, unsuccessfully in our view, to argue that Lévi-Strauss is a Hegelian!

[92] C. Lévi-Strauss, Race and History (New York: UNESCO, 1952), p. 252.

[93] So Lawrence Rosen, "Language, History, and the Logic of Inquiry in the Works of Lévi-Strauss and Sartre," The Unconscious in Culture, ed. I. Rossi, p. 395 (orig. pub. in History and Theory 10 [1971]:269-294).

[94] These quotes from Sartre and Lévi-Strauss were given in ibid., pp. 406-407.

[95] G. Charbonnier (ed.), Conversations with Claude Lévi-Strauss, trans. J. and D. Weightman (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), p. 39.

[96] C. Lévi-Strauss, "A Conversation with Claude Lévi-Strauss; The Father of Structural Anthropology Takes a Misanthropic View of Lawless Humanism," Psychology Today 5 (no. 12, 1972):74.

[97] Marshall Durbin, "Comments," The Unconscious in Culture, ed. I. Rossi, p. 78. Italics added.

[98] C. Lévi-Strauss, "A Confrontation [with Paul Ricoeur et al.]," New Left Review 62 (1970):57-74.

[99] Ibid., p. 62.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid., p. 72.

[102] All quotes in this paragraph are from ibid., pp. 60-61.

[103] E. Leach, "The Legitimacy of Solomon," in his Genesis as Myth; And Other Essays (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), pp. 29-30.

[104] For example, Stanley Diamond, in agreement with Leach, notes that the myths studied by Lévi-Strauss have been edited and reinterpreted just as much as those in the Bible (S. Diamond, "The Myth of Structuralism," The Unconscious in Culture, ed. I. Rossi, p. 313).

[105] Leach, "The Legitimacy," p. 45.

[106] See Diamond, "The Myth of Structuralism," p. 329 n.9.

[107] Leach, "The Legitimacy," pp. 30-31.

[108] R. Barthes, On Racine, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), p. 162. It should also be added that no other structuralist has done more structural analyses of historical discourse than Barthes. See, for example, R. Barthes, "Historical Discourse," Introduction to Structuralism, ed. M. Lane, pp. 145-155.

[109] Ibid., p. 161.

[110] Ibid., p. 166.

[111] Ibid., p. 154.

[112] Ibid., p. 159.

[113] Ibid., p. 155.

[114] Ibid., p. 156.

[115] Ibid., p. 157.

[116] Ibid., p. 163. Barthes adds that it is Lucien Goldmann "who has produced the most developed theory of what we might call the criticism of signification, at least when applied to a historical object."

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[117] See Weimann, "French Structuralism," p. 444. For a concise statement of R. Barthes's view of history in which he confirms that the possibility of a "structural history" exists and that "history has been structuralist long before structuralism," see his comments reported by X. Léon-Dufour ("Exégètes et Structuralistes," Recherches de Science Religieuse 58 [1970]:11). In fact, Howard Gardner presented a "Structural history of structuralism" in his The Quest for Mind, pp. 23-26.

[118] See the discussion of this point in Wittig, "The Historical Development," p. 159.

[119] Thus Daniel Patte, for example, argues that although historical and structural disciplines do not "mutually exclude each other," they should "be kept distinct, separate, and unconfounded" (Patte, What is Structural Exegesis? [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976], p. iv).

[120] A. J. Greimas, "Structure et histoire," Les Temps Modernes 22 (1966):815-827.

[121] Ibid., p. 826.

[122] For an excellent brief introduction to the members of this group, their work, and theses, see J. H. Miller, "The Geneva School," Critical Quarterly 8 (1966):305-321. For a discussion of its differences with the French or Parisian structuralists, see E. W. Said, "Abecedarium," p. 57f. Some scholars, however, consider these differences to be so great that they refuse to consider members of the Geneva School as true "structuralists" (see, e.g., U. Eco, "Sociology and the Novel," The Times Literary Supplement 3422 [Sept. 28, 1967]:876). But Robert Weimann thinks the agreements among Lévi-Strauss, Barthes, Goldmann, and even Lucien Sebag to be sufficiently similar to justify considering them all to be a single group (see Weimann, "French Structuralism," p. 439).

[123] See on this point, Weimann, "French Structuralism," pp. 447-448. The quote from Goldmann appears in his Pour une Sociologie du Roman (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), p. 222.

[124] L. Goldmann, The Human Sciences and Philosophy, trans. H. V. White and R. Anchor (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), p. 1.

[125] Ibid., p. 12.

[126] Ibid., p. 21. Italics his.

[127] Ibid., p. 22.

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[128] Ibid., p. 23. Italics his.

[129] Ibid., p. 24.

[130] Ibid., p. 27.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., p. 28.

[133] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

[134] It should be noted that form critics continue to use the now outmoded institutional concept of culture. See, for example, the remarks by Koch about such institutions as the prophetic and priestly schools, etc. (The Growth, p. 58) and the monographs which continue to appear on the Matthean and Johannine "Schools," etc.

[135] On this new conception of culture, see W. G. Runciman, "What is Structuralism?" British Journal of Sociology 20 (1969): 253; and the new work by E. Leach (Culture and Communication [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976]), which presents a structuralist study of Old Testament culture including excellent discussions of the priesthood, temple, liturgies, and sacrificial systems.

[136] This quote by W. R. Goodenough is taken from Pike, Language in Relation, p. 71.

[137] B. N. Colby, "Cultural Patterns in Narrative," Science 151 (1966):798.

[138] On this common misconception, see E. A. Nida, "Implications of Contemporary Linguistics for Biblical Scholarship," JBL 91 (1972):84; and A. Sommerfelt, "Linguistic Structures and the Structures of Social Groups," Diogenes 51 (1965):187.

[139] See Chapter IV entitled "Linguistics and Anthropology" of Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, vol. I, pp. 66-79.

[140] Ibid., p. 67.

[141] Ibid., p. 70. Italics his.

[142] Ibid., pp. 78-79.

[143] Lévi-Strauss, Totemism, p. 42.

[144] Ibid., p. 89.

[145] Ibid., p. 101.

[146] Leach, Claude Lévi-Strauss, p. 37.

[147] Ibid., pp. 34-35 (cf. p. 83).

[148] Ibid., p. 34.

[149] Leach, Genesis as Myth, p. 9.

[150] See ibid., pp. 10-11.

[151] See J. A. Boon, From Symbolism to Structuralism (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1972), pp. 75-76.

[152] R. K. Merton, "Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge," American Journal of Sociology 78 (1972):9.

[153] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[154] Ibid., p. 15.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

[157] Ibid., p. 18.

[158] Ibid.

[159] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[160] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[161] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[162] Ibid., p. 27.

[163] Ibid., p. 28.

[164] Max Weber, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre, (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1922), p. 428; cf. Merton, "Insiders," p. 32, and Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, vol. I, p. 32.

[165] Merton, "Insiders," p. 37 (Merton is here quoting Karl Mannheim, Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, ed. P. Kerskemeti [New York: Oxford University Press, 1952], pp. 221-222).

[166] Ibid., p. 40.

[167] See the results of a sociolinguistic study of contemporary Christian sermons which confirm this conclusion in P. Suojanen, "The Contribution of Socio-Linguistics to the Study of Religion," Temenos 10 (1974):130-131, 136, 138, 140, 143.

[168] Frye, "The Critical Path," p. 335.

[169] Ibid., p. 281.

[170] G. Wienold, "Experimental Research on Literature: Its Need and Appropriateness," Poetics 7 (1973):83.

[171] J. L. Fischer, "The Sociopsychological Analysis," pp. 254-255.

[172] Lawrence Krader, "Beyond Structuralism: The Dialectics of the Diachronic and Synchronic Methods in the Human Sciences," The Unconscious in Culture, ed. I. Rossi, p. 311.

[173] Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, vol. I, p. 87.

[174] See H. Gardner, The Quest for Mind, p. 192.

[175] Boon, From Symbolism to Structuralism, pp. 126-130. See also I. Rossi, "Reply to Nutini's 'The Ideological Bases of Lévi-Strauss' Structuralism,'" American Anthropologist 74 (1972): 786; and E. Leach, "Brain-Twister" in Claude Lévi-Strauss: The Anthropologist as Hero, eds. E. and T. Hayes, pp. 129ff.

[176] Patte, What is Structural Exegesis? p. 85.

[177] Ibid., pp. 24, 33; and D. Patte, "Structural Network in Narrative," Soundings 58 (1975):224.

[178] Patte, What is Structural Exegesis? p. 25.

[179] W. A. Meeks, "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism," JBL 91 (1972):44-72.

[180] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[181] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[182] Ibid., p. 50.

[183] Ibid., p. 68.

[184] Ibid., p. 70.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Patte, "Structural Network," p. 225.

[187] Robert H. Stein, "What is Redaktionsgeschichte?" JBL 88 (1969):53.

[188] Definition given by Patte, "Introduction" to his translation of Jean Calloud, Structural Analysis of Narrative, trans. D. Patte (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), p. x.

[189] Scholes, "The Contributions," p. 149.

[190] Culler, Structuralist Poetics, p. 82.

[191] S. Chatman, "Towards a Theory of Narrative," New Literary History 6 (1975):312.

[192] See S. Chatman, "The Semantics of Style," Introduction to Structuralism, ed. M. Lane, p. 136.

[193] Chatman, "Towards a Theory," p. 312.

[194] Ibid., p. 303 n.12. Jerzy Pelc gives a very detailed discussion of the interaction among the narrator, author, and narration in his article, "On the Concept of Narration," pp. 1-19. In addition, one should see the article by S. Chatman, "The Structure of Narrative Transmission" in Style and Structure in Literature, ed. Roger Fowler (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 213-258.

[195] E. Donato, "The Shape of Fiction: Notes towards a Possible Classification of Narrative Discourse," Modern Language Notes 86 (1971):815-816.

[196] See Hendricks, "Folklore and the Structural Analysis of Literary Texts," p. 116.

[197] Culler, Structuralist Poetics, p. 50.

[198] Harold Scheub, "Oral Narrative Process and the Use of Models," New Literary History 6 (1975):353.

[199] Patte, What is Structural Exegesis? p. 23. Italics added.

[200] R. Barthes, "Criticism as Language," Modern Literary Criticism, eds. L. I. Lipking and A. W. Litz (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 434-435.

[201] Chatman, "Towards a Theory," p. 304.

[202] Patte, "Structural Network," p. 224.

[203] Jauss, "Literary History as a Challenge," p. 15.

[204] Ibid., p. 10.

[205] Scheub, "Oral Narrative Process," p. 361.

[206] Ibid.

[207] See Fischer, "The Sociopsychological Analysis," p. 268.

[208] Culler, Structuralist Poetics, p. 116.

[209] Pike, Language in Relation, p. 52.

[210] Eco, "Social Life as a Sign System," p. 58.

[211] Meeks, "The Man from Heaven," pp. 70-71. Italics added.

[212] R. Jakobson, "On Russian Fairy Tales," Introduction to Structuralism, ed. M. Lane, p. 193.

[213] Scholes, Structuralism in Literature, p. 55.

[214] Jakobson, "On Russian Fairy Tales," p. 198.

[215] Hendricks, "Folklore and the Structural Analysis of Literary Texts," p. 108.

[216] Meletinsky, "Structural-Typological Study," p. 274. Italics added.

[217] Lévi-Strauss, Totemism, p. 16.

[218] Ino Rossi, quoting Jean Pouillon, writes: "Models are operating devices or tools for investigation and therefore they are concerned with methodological questions rather than with empirical reality" (I. Rossi, "Structuralism as Scientific Method," The Unconscious in Culture, p. 87). See also these remarks by André Martinet on the same subject:

> "The set of symbols which make up the structure may very well be considered as a model and a model may of course consist of mental or graphic symbolizations or even material representations such as cardboard or papier-maché for instance. . . . But there is quite a difference between a model which is valid only in so far as it accounts for the relevant features of a given reality in their reciprocal relations, and a model which claims to be independent of the latter.
>
> ". . . it is mainly in the Social Sciences that belief in

structural models flourishes. . . . we are tempted to speak of structures as bundles of latent relations, which, finally, is not to say that these relations are not real, i.e., present in the facts, but simply that they are not manifest for the observer.

"To sum up, the model is not the structure, for the structure is always in the object, latent as it were but only if latent is not opposed to real. The best that can be expected of a model is that it represents the structure exactly, and it will do so if the scholar has succeeded in correctly disentangling the latencies involved and has not tried to force them into a prefabricated model founded on the set of a priori ideas currently in fashion" (A. Martinet, "Structure and Language" in Structuralism, ed. Jacques Ehrmann [Garden City: Anchor Books, 1970], p. 4. Italics added).

[219] See on this point, Patte, What is Structural Exegesis? p. 26.

[220] M. Lane, "Introduction" to his Introduction to Structuralism, p. 26.

[221] See N. Rothenstreich, "On Levi-Strauss' Concept of Structure," p. 501.

[222] H. Stuart Hughes, "Structure and Society," Claude Levi-Strauss: The Anthropologist as Hero, eds. E. and T. Hayes, p. 24.

[223] Leach, Genesis as Myth, p. 46.

[224] Levi-Strauss, Totemism, p. 85.

[225] Meeks, "The Man from Heaven," p. 48.

[226] Leach, Genesis as Myth, p. 47.

[227] Ibid., p. 51.

[228] Ibid., p. 66.

[229] Karin R. Andriolo, "A Structural Analysis of Genealogy and Worldview in the Old Testament," American Anthropologist 75 (1973):1657-1669.

[230] Cf. Leach, Genesis as Myth, p. 47.

[231] Andriolo, "A Structural Analysis," pp. 1663, 1666f.

[232] Ibid., p. 1665.

[233] Leach, Genesis as Myth, pp. 65-66.

[234] See especially Leach's map of Palestine showing these cognitive "we-they" divisions (ibid., p. 50) and also his discussion of the divided monarchy (pp. 47 and 51).

[235] Ibid., pp. 58-64.

[236] Ibid., p. 49.

[237] Ibid., pp. 54-55.

[238] Ibid., p. 55.

[239] Ibid. Italics added.

[240] Leach, Culture and Communication, p. 93.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM AND THE METHOD CONJOINED

As noted in Chapter III, structural analyses of the Solomonic succession narratives reveal that the ancient Israelites' basic social structure and method of differentiating themselves, and also Israel from "non-Israel," are based on a dichotomy between the so-called "Rachel" and "Leah" tribes. It was also noted that this difference is equivalent to a geographical dichotomy between northern (Rachel Tribes) and southern (Leah Tribes) Palestine. It was further stated that biblical scholarship in the past, due to the influence of Hegelian historiography, has been insensitive to these cultural differences. The goal of this chapter is to explore these matters in more detail, specifically in so far as they may shed light on the role of certain dramatis personae in the Fourth Gospel (especially that of "the Jews"). In addition, it will be shown that the structure of John's topographical references confirms the existence of these differences.

A. The Rachel/Leah, North/South Dichotomy in the Old Testament, Josephus, and Judaism

In a recently published article (1976), C. H. H. Scobie produces evidence that a North/South synchronic dichotomy can be traced throughout the Bible from Genesis to Revelation.[1] Scobie begins with a discussion of the historical division of the northern and southern kingdoms, Israel and Judah. He notes the biased character of 2 Kgs. 17:24-28,[2] and that recent Pentateuchal research has revealed the existence of "divisions" and "rivalries" among the twelve tribes from the beginning of Israel, and that only *some* of the tribes participated in the Exodus experience from Egypt.[3] He adds that *Shechem* was the place where these tribes were united for the first time ~~by~~ Joshua (Josh. 24), and also that Solomon's son Rehoboam *had* to go to Shechem to become king of the northern tribes *with their consent*, which they refused to give (1 Kgs. 12:1-24).[4]

With regard to the O.T. writings, he notes the origins of the E and D traditions and the prophetic movement *in the North* by Elijah, Elisha, Amos, and Hosea.[5] He continues his survey into the exilic and post-exilic periods by arguing that a remnant must have survived the destruction of the northern kingdom, Israel, in 722 B.C., and adds that Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's interest in the reunion of Ephraim and Judah shows evidence of this.[6] Scobie then suggests that the final break between North and South came sometime after the completion of the Pentateuch and was probably caused by the construction of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim and its later destruction by the Maccabeans under John Hyrcanus in 128 B.C. (Josephus, *Ant*. XIII, 9.1ff.).[7] In short, a history of bitter cultural hostilities between North and South can be seen throughout the O.T.; and this is reflected in certain theological differences.

1. The North/South Dichotomy and the Tabernacle/Temple Opposition

With the final, irrevocable separation of North and South into Samaria and "the tribes of Judah and Benjamin" (Ezra 4), two competing theologies were created. In the South, Jerusalem became the holy city and a Davidic "dynastic" theology appeared (cf. 2 Sam. 7 and the royal Psalms), while in the North, Shechem, in opposition to Jerusalem,[8] became "the navel of the land" (Jgs. 9:37) and was hallowed because of its earlier associations with the Tabernacle. Thus a number of oppositions between North and South may be summarized as Shechem/Jerusalem, Tabernacle/Temple, Moses/David, charismatic leadership/dynastic leadership. Scobie also thinks these differences were reflected in different eschatologies. For the South, hope was for a New Jerusalem and a New Temple brought by a Son of David messianic figure, while for the North hope was for a restoration of the Tabernacle at Shechem brought by a Moses-prophet messianic figure, i.e., the Taheb foretold in Deut. 18:15-18.[9]

Although Scobie's survey is quite thorough, there is much additional evidence which can be added in support of his argument. Moreover, this additional information sharpens and enriches these "ideal types." First, it can be noted that this Tabernacle/Temple opposition can be seen at the time of the conquest of Canaan. Although Scobie does not say so, it was only the Rachel Tribes, or "House of Joseph," which experienced the Exodus.[10] Second, in his study of "The God of the Fathers," A. Alt was able to establish the existence of a nomadic god theology in which each tribe had its own patriarchal god who was not attached to a particular place but who moved with his nomadic worshippers.[11] However, after the conquest was completed, these nomadic gods and worshippers took possession of the old fixed Canaanite sanctuaries and their earlier traditions were acculturated with those of the local Canaanite gods.[12] By studying these sanctuaries, Alt discovered that a "map" could be made, for example, showing where each sanctuary and tribal god was located. Using as an example one which will prove to be most significant for John's Gospel, Alt concluded:

> In the case of Jacob and his god, a very clear picture emerges: all the sites east and west of the Jordan, in which the sagas connect him with a sanctuary, lie in the area settled by the House of Joseph.[13]

Having had the opportunity to study for some time under a recognized scholar on the period of the Judges, Max G. Rogers,[14] this writer is in a position to add some additional observations concerning this early period. Following G. von Rad, Rogers notes the existence of an additional theological dichotomy between what von Rad has called a "theology of manifestation" (the Rachel Tribes) and a "theology of presence" (the Leah or Southern Tribes) which he thinks can also be traced throughout the Old Testament. As von Rad notes, it is E's account of the Tent of Meeting (later called the Tabernacle) in Ex. 33:7-11, which is the most primitive concept of the Tabernacle.[15] Moreover, this northern E tabernacle is to be distinguished from P's tabernacle which, as most scholars agree, has been influenced by what Scobie calls "Temple" theology.[16] Von Rad writes:

> The Tent is not in the least the place where Jahweh dwells on earth, as was the case with, for instance, the Temple of Solomon; it is merely the point of meeting, a place of encounter between Jahweh and Moses.[17]

In other words, *the Tent of Meeting is only a place where Jahweh's word is proclaimed*. Now opposition to this view can be seen in a southern P source (Ex. 25:10ff.) where the Ark is considered to be Yahweh's throne; here, wherever the Ark is, there Yahweh is fully present. Von Rad adds that there is a distinction in the ancient East "between a temple where the deity manifests himself and one where he dwells."[18]

The opposition between these two theologies can also be seen continuing throughout the Pentateuch into the Prophets. For example, the D editors considered the Ark to be a "thing which contains the tables [of the Law], and nothing more. . . ." Indeed for Deuteronomic theology, Jahweh dwells only in heaven, and as far as earth is concerned he has only placed his name at the places where he is worshipped. For the P writers, however, Yahweh's "glory" or *Shekinah* rested upon the Tabernacle and Temple continuously.[19]

Now there is evidence that considerable tension between these two theologies, which may be described as Manifestation vs. Presence, continued throughout Israel's history. For example, when David contemplated building a Temple in which God would dwell, he was dissuaded by the prophet Nathan (2 Sam. 7:1-17) with the argument that Yahweh was nomadic and did not sit in one place.[20] (Is this a reflection of the continuation of Alt's "God of the Fathers" theology?) Moreover, this same opposition is reflected in the northern prophets, Amos and Hosea (Amos 5:21-22; 6:1; 7:9,13; Hosea esp. 12:9; 12:11; cf. Mic. 1:3; Isa. 6:3). But it was especially Jeremiah, more than any other prophet, who assaulted the idea of God dwelling in a particular place (e.g., Jer. 7:12-15; 31:31f.). On this subject, on the other hand, Ezekiel seems to be more "southern" in outlook since he re-echoes the "glory" theology of the P writers (e.g., Ezek. 1:28; 9:3; 10:4,18,19; 11:22-23; 28:22; 43:2,4,5).

2. The North/South Dichotomy in Ezekiel and Jeremiah

Now at this point a difficulty arises in the use of these "ideal types" re Jeremiah and Ezekiel.[21] It is, however, one which can be explained by the movement of a southern group to the north. Some scholars have argued that Ezekiel was a northerner,[22] and that the new sanctuary he envisioned was to be located at Shechem, not Jerusalem.[23] Moreover, although Ezekiel's Nasi is based on a "Son of David" theology (Ezek. 34:23,24; 37:24,25), it also contains many links with the Samaritan Taheb expectations.[24] Still, the consensus of scholars maintains that Ezekiel was a southerner, and it is clear that his new sanctuary, wherever he intended it to be, ended up being considered by the Jews as in

Jerusalem. Ezekiel, moreover, as is widely recognized, was closely related to the Zadokite priesthood. Indeed his book is often considered to be their "manifesto" because of its claims that only Zadokites should be the legitimate priests. It is known that these Zadokite priests later forsook Jerusalem, probably because of their inability to stomach the post-exilic P school's attempt to make a compromise between themselves, the Hasmonaeans, and other priests, whom the Samaritans called Abiatharites. And it was probably, as John Bowman argues, when these Zadokites fled to Damascus, Qumran, and Shechem about 180 B.C., that the southern Pentateuch, including both the J and P traditions, reached Shechem.[25]

With the arrival of a new group of Zadokite priests in Samaria it may safely be assumed that certain theological changes occurred among both the Zadokite priests already at Shechem and the new arrivals. The immigrant Zadokites found themselves in a new theological atmosphere where David and Jerusalem were not revered. Consequently a modification of their eschatology would have been required. For the old resident priests, as Bowman says, " . . . Ezekiel's proposed reunification of north and south, with a common sanctuary, would be attractive to them but not at the cost of accepting a Davidic prince."[26] The Samaritans probably modified Ezekiel's ideas, "but their adoption of some of his views, especially those affecting the Zadokite priesthood, kept Ezekiel and the Zadokite priesthood a burning issue."[27] With the discovery of the Zadokite Damascus Document and the Dead Sea Scrolls, a good picture of these views is obtained. The Davidic messiah was abandoned and the remaining priests in Jerusalem were reviled.[28] Later it will be shown that this revulsion seems to play a role in the question of "the Jews" in John.

This concludes a primitive and brief "structural" history of the Rachel and Leah tribes as ideal types in the Old Testament. Before turning to study the N.T. using these same types we propose to present a brief study of these categories as reflected in the attitudes of Judaism towards the Samaritans.

3. The North/South Dichotomy as Reflected in the Rabbis, Josephus, and Judaism

The rabbinic view of the Samaritans is divided.[29] The most important Talmudic treatise on them is the Masecheth Kuthim.[30] Although the MS itself is medieval, it contains citations from known first and second century A.D. rabbis. Thus it is actually an anthology of Mishnaic and Talmudic citations on the Samaritans. From the Mishnah and the Masecheth Kuthim, the following opinions are especially significant:

1. The Samaritans are a little better than the Gentiles (M. Ter. 3:9; M. Shek. 1:5).
2. They are classified as Am ha-'Ares, but are not Gentiles (M. Dem. 3:4).
3. In some matters, e.g., making up the Minyan for Grace after meat, they are equal to Jews (M. Ber. 7:1); but a Jew may not automatically say "Amen" after a Samaritan's "benediction" (M. Ber. 8:8).
4. They keep the Sabbath (M. Ned. 3:10).
5. Their Matzoth is valid for Jews (T. B. Hull. 4a; T. B. Kidd. 76a). But this is questioned by other rabbis.

6. Jews may trade with them, e.g., buy corn (M. Dem. 5:9) and wine (M. Dem. 7:4), and Samaritans can mill corn for Jews (M. Dem. 3:4). (Cf. Jn. 4:8 where Jesus' disciples buy food in Samaria.)
7. The Samaritans are of doubtful stock and cannot marry an Israelite [i.e., a Jew], as opposed to a Proselyte who can marry a Levite and not impair priestly stock (M. Kidd. 4:3).
8. The daughters of Samaritans are menstruants from the grave and hence make Samaritan men unclean (M. Nidd. 4:1; cf. M. Ket. 3:1 and M. Nidd. 7:4). (But see M. Nidd. 4:2 where it is said Sadducean women are no better!)
9. Samaritans are different from Israelites, i.e., Rabbinic Jews, but they are also not Gentiles (M. Demai 5:9; cf. M. Tohoroth 4:1).
10. The Samaritans do observe the Law and in what they do they do more strictly than the Jews (T. B. Ber. 47b).
11. He who eats Samaritan bread eats swine flesh (M. Shebiith 8:10; but this was disputed; cf. Jn. 4:8).
12. When the Samaritans give up faith in Mt. Gerizim, acknowledge Jerusalem and the Resurrection of the dead, they will be like Jews (Talmudic Tractate Kuthim, 28).
13. A Gentile's testimony is more valid than a Samaritan's, except for a writ of divorce or writ of emancipation where the opposite is true (M. Gitt. 1:5).[31]

However, one must be skeptical about accepting this Jewish view of the Samaritans. For example, although Jewish sources from the Tannaitic to the Geonic periods (e.g., Siphre to Num. 15:31; T. B. Sanhedrin 90b; Masecheth Kuthim, 28)[32] as well as many of the Church Fathers (e.g., Origen, Comm. im Mtt. XVII, 29 [P.G. 13, col.1564]; Hom.ad Num. XXV,1 [P.G. 12,col.763]; Epiphanius, Pan. I,9,2 [P.G. 41, col.226]; Leontius, De Sectis, II,8 [P.G. 86, cols.1210-11], etc.) agreed the Samaritans denied belief in the resurrection, the earliest reliably datable[33] Samaritan source, the 3rd-4th cen. A.D. Memar Marqah II,9, quite clearly asserts belief in the Resurrection and the Day of Recompense.[34] It reads, "When the Taheb comes he will reveal the truth and God will glorify the dead. Their coming will be from the four directions of the world."[35] Moreover, if the Samaritans did not believe in the resurrection, then one is hard pressed to explain the passage in Deut. 32:35ff. SP which reads, "Is not this laid up in store with me till the day of vengeance and recompense [יום נקם ושלם]," when one knows that the Samaritans refer to the judgment day as "the day of vengeance and recompense."[36]

Thus it must be remembered that neither the Jews nor the Samaritans were reluctant to dream up some new slander against the other. Josephus gives some examples of this animosity when he writes that the Samaritans deliberately polluted the Jerusalem Temple on the eve of Passover (Ant, xviii,2,2). But in saying this, he also admitted that at one time Samaritans were allowed to enter the Jerusalem temple freely![37] Likewise, he says that the Samaritans attacked Galilean pilgrims on the way to Jerusalem (Ant. XX,6,1; War, II,12,3), but he also seems to state that it was common for Galilean pilgrims to go to Jerusalem through Samaria, rather than through Perea. In agreement with this the Talmud explicitly ruled that "the land of the Kuthim [i.e., Samaritans] is clean, the gatherings of their waters are clean, their dwellings are clean, their roads are clean" (Ab.Z.Jer. 44d; cf. Tos. Mikwaot 6,1).[38] However, it was also reported that the Samaritans attempted to confuse the Galileans by lighting false signal fires for the new moons so that they would go to Jerusalem at the wrong times for festivals (M. Rosh. Ha - Sh.2:2).

The Jews, for their part, during the Maccabean period besieged Samaria, forcing them to eat unclean foods (Ant. XIII, 10,2-3), and John Hyrcanus razed the Samaritan "Temple" to the ground (War,I,2,6-7). Therefore the situation between the southern tribes of Judah and Benjamin (the Jews; cf. Ezra 4:1), and the northern tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (the Samaritans; cf. Josephus, Ant.XI,8,6), was "long and complicated," and there was a constant "flux in political relations among Judea, Galilee, Samaria and the Transjordan from the Macedonian through the Roman eras. . . ."[39]

Nevertheless, it is remarkable that throughout all this period "The Tannaim of the Mishnah never disputed that the Samaritans were proselytes. What was disputed was whether they were genuine proselytes or had been converted because of their fear of the lions (2 Kgs. 17:26)."[40] In short, the Rachel/Leah, North/South dichotomies in this era also present one with a classic example of the we/they, insider/outsider oppositions discussed earlier.

B. The Rachel/Leah Dichotomy in the New Testament and Early Church

The next question to be addressed is whether or not these North/South, Israel/Judah, Shechem/Jerusalem, Tabernacle/Temple, Moses/David, charismatic leadership/dynastic leadership, "House of Joseph"/Judah and Benjamin, nomadic god/sedentary god, manifestation/presence, and finally Zadokite priests/Jerusalem priests "ideal types," have any value for understanding the New Testament era and then later for discovering the cultural context of John.

1. The Significance of Rachel/Leah and Israel/Judah in the New Testament and Early Church

In response to those who may contend that the Rachel/Leah, Israel/Judah oppositions are contrived, or were no longer in existence in the post-exilic and New Testament eras, the following evidence can be cited. The first source of interest, the apocryphal book of Susanna, has been dated by R. H. Charles ca. 95-80 B.C.[41] Moreover, the plot of this small book is very similar to the story of the Adulterous Woman, in Jn. 8:1-11. As G. W. Buchanan observes, Susanna 56-57 (LXX version) mentions a daughter of Judah and a daughter of Israel who are contrasted with one another with respect to whether or not they yielded to certain masculine advances. From this contrast, Buchanan concludes: "This means that in NT times the name Israel still held a distinctive connotation meaning the Northern Kingdom as over against the Southern Kingdom, Benjamin and Judah." Moreover, he adds, "The Northern Kingdom was also known as Jacob, Ephraim, Joseph and Samaria."[42]

Likewise, Justin Martyr, as Ben Zion Bokser observes, also emphasized the contrast between the Rachel and Leah tribes. Bokser writes: "The contrast between Leah and Rachel was especially important for Justin since Leah was of poor vision while Rachel was clear-eyed." This agreed, he continues, "with the Christian notion that Jews [i.e., the Tribe of Leah] were stricken with a blindness which made them unable to see the truth taught by their own scripture (see Dial. 134:2,3,5)." Moreover, for Justin (born in Samaria, Dial. 120), Jacob-Israel was "a prefiguration of Jesus."[43] Now this is most significant considering the fact that the Samaritans have always also thought in these same oppositional terms. In addition, Justin stated that the Jews and Samaritans were "the tribe of Israel" and "the house of Jacob" (Apol. I. 53). Eusebius, quoting Hegesippus, stated that the Samaritans were a Jewish sect who were opposed to "the tribe of Judah and the Messiah" (H.E. IV,22,7).

Now in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke the tribe to which one belonged was most important. Indeed Leach's observations concerning the Rachel/Leah dichotomy in the genealogies of Jesus have already been noted (see Chapter III, p. 142 above). Furthermore, the census of Caesar Augustus in Lk. 2:1-5 should be mentioned. In it Joseph, who belonged "to the house and family of David," returned from Galilee to Bethlehem to be enrolled.

We are also told by Luke that the prophetess Anna was a member of the tribe of Asher (Lk. 2:36), and Paul claimed that he was a member of the Tribe of Benjamin (Rom. 11:1; Phil. 3:5; cf. Acts 13:21). Since Benjamin was in the peculiar position of belonging both to Judah and the northern Rachel tribes, is this why Paul calls himself a "Hebrew of the Hebrews" (Phil. 3:5; 2 Cor. 11:22; cf. Josephus, Ant., xi,8,6!)? The question thus arises: If tribal membership were insignificant or forgotten after the Exile, how did Paul know to which tribe he belonged? Indeed, John Bowman has written an illuminating article which deals with the subject of Paul's tribal membership.[44] As Bowman notes, a member of the Tribe of Benjamin would be connected with the returning Jewish exiles and thus equal in status to the Tribe of Judah (see Ezra 4:1), or he would be a "Jew." But on the other hand, Benjamin was also one of the "Joseph" clans. Writes Bowman: "It had territory-wise a most significant position linking the rest of the Northern Tribes with Judah. . . ."[45] Thus if tribal differences were significant, Paul would be perfectly suited by birth to preach Christ both among the Jews and the Samaritans, which is what Acts 15:3 says he did. Moreover, it is also interesting to note the Samaritan view of Paul's tribal membership. In the earliest available (ca. early 4th cen. A.D.?)[46] source, the Samaritan Chronicle II, now available on this subject, an anonymous Samaritan chronicler has written about Paul:

> Now this Paul was named Saul before he joined up with Jesus. He was born in Tarsus, one of the cities of Cilicia. It is stated concerning him that he belonged to the tribe of Benjamin, but he was really from the tribe of Judah.[47]

Thus from the point of view of the Samaritans, tribal membership was important and was equated with the Israel/Judah opposition. They preferred to discard intermediary categories, such as

Benjaminites like Paul, by making all "Jews" belong to the tribe of Judah. As will be seen, this is precisely the position which appears in the Fourth Gospel. To provide the basis from which this can be argued, we now turn to consider the recurrence of the Rachel/Leah dichotomy in the book of Acts.

2. The Rachel/Leah, North/South Dichotomy and the Question of the Hellenists and Hebrews in Acts

5 Beginning with an examination of Luke's Hellenist/Hebrew dichotomy in Acts 6:1, it should be noted that in the past it was customary to believe that the difference between these two groups was linguistic, and that the Hellenists were "Jews who spoke Greek" while the Hebrews were "Jews who spoke Hebrew or Aramaic."[48] As was observed earlier, this interpretation of this one passage provided the Tübingen School with a basic approach to all early Christian history. Moreover, these groups in Acts 6:1 were believed to be different races.[49] Today they are generally considered to represent either cultural[50] or sectarian[51] differences within Judaism. When, however, it comes to identifying to which group, the Hellenist or the Hebrew, Stephen and "the Seven" belonged, scholars have continued to hold the old "linguistic" interpretation, asserting on the basis of their Greek names that "the Seven" were "Hellenists."[52] But as Ernst Haenchen notes, it is by no means certain from Acts' text to which group, the Hellenist or the Hebrew, Stephen and the Seven belonged.[53] That the "Seven" all had Greek names is hardly support at all when it is

recalled that a son of Annas, the Jewish high priest, had a Greek name, and in a sample of Jewish names in Egypt no more than one-fourth are in Hebrew.[54] It is now not even certain that Aramaic was the language used by Jesus and his disciples.[55] Rather it is becoming clear that the three languages, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, were all commonly used by Jews in first-century Palestine.[56] Thus no specifically Hellenistic or Jewish Christianity may exist in the New Testament.[57]

But if this is the case, how is Acts' Hellenist/Hebrew dichotomy to be interpreted? We think that the answer lies in the North/South dichotomy instead. Oscar Cullmann, for example, points to certain theological motifs in Stephen's speech, namely, opposition to the Temple cultus, and a universalism, and thinks that the presence of these two motifs in the Qumran documents provides a means of identifying the group to which Stephen and Philip (Acts 6:5) belonged.[58] Having said this, Cullmann has come close to identifying the Stephen group with the Qumran community, whose identity and character is almost as amorphous as "the Seven" of Acts. After examining Cullmann's thesis, Pierre Geoltrain concludes that the Essenes cannot be equated with the so-called "Hellenists" although "Les Hellénistes des Actes se situent dans la meme ligne que le mouvement essénien."[59]

3. The North/South, Rachel/Leah Dichotomy and Qumran and Samaria

There are kinship and theological links between Qumran and Samaria which need to be examined in more detail before we turn directly to the question of the relationship between Stephen's speech and the Fourth Gospel. The awareness of a relationship between the Qumran community and the Samaritan sect was awakened by the discovery of a scroll at Exodus at Qumran (4 QEx^{a}), including Ex. 6:25-37:15, which contained distinctive Samaritan characteristics such as the "repetitious manner of recounting the plague episodes" and "borrowings from Deuteronomy and its transpositions." But neither its script nor its orthography was Samaritan. Even more significant, the text proves that the Samaritan Pentateuch as known, for example, from A. von Gall's 1914-18 edition,[60] was transmitted with a fidelity "that compares not unfavorably with the fidelity of transmission of the MT itself and with documents of much later date."[61]

From this rather startling discovery, Matthew Black produced a study examining the traditions of the Church Fathers about the Essenes.[62] He noted that according to Epiphanius, "the Essenes were a Samaritan sect, located in Samaria in times before the destruction of Jerusalem." Moreover, according to Epiphanius, "His Samaritan Essenes agreed . . . in most fundamentals with their Samaritan neighbors, the 'Dositheans,' 'Sabaeans,' 'Gorothenes,' etc."[63] Citing J. Thomas' seminal study of the

Baptist movement,[64] Black notes that Thomas had "concluded the Baptist sectarians existed in both Samaria and Judea" and that the Samaritan baptist sects, i.e., the Dositheans, Sabaeans, and Gorothenes, were Essenes.[65]

Moreover, Epiphanius mentions the existence of another Jewish sect called the "Ossenes" who lived in Transjordan south of a Jewish sect of "Nasarenes." Thomas had identified these "Ossenes" as Essenes and argued that they were a remnant of the Dead Sea Essenes who had immigrated to the Transjordan area after the destruction of Jerusalem.[66] Adding to his survey the discovery of Qumran document 4 QEx^{a}, Black argued that this "points to the existence of a vital link in pre-Christian times between Qumran and Samaria, the Samaritans and the Essenes." He continues: "No discovery could make plainer the affinities of the Qumran sectarians, for it is quite certain that no Pharisaic or Judean group ever possessed or used such a Pentateuch."[67] As a conclusion to his study, Black suggests that Epiphanius may not have been wrong in his identification of the Essenes as Samaritans.[68] Indeed, Black notes, the fact that the Damascus Zadokite sect opposed the Davidic messiah, and the fact "that the Qumran sect looked for a Messiah of Israel point perhaps decisively to the place of its origins."[69] Rather, the Samaritan "Dositheans and the Judaean Essenes are so close that they seem to be the same sect at different periods in its history."[70] But this does not necessarily mean that a "Judaean sect found its way into Samaria after the Roman War"; rather there is evidence that what happened was that a Samaritan sect may have moved into Judea. For while

> Montgomery[71] traced the influences producing the Samaritan Dositheans to the Judaean Essenes . . . we may have to reverse this and look for the formative influences in Judaean sectarianism in the ancient religion of Israel, or rather in its remnant descendants in Samaria.
>
> These connections with Samaria and the North certainly point to an origin for Essenism (and Palestinian sectarianism) in the ancient religion of the Northern Kingdom, or, at any rate, in what was left of Israelite religion after the Exile. . . .[72]

For the purposes of the argument here, it matters little where Essenism or Jewish sectarianism began. Indeed it may be argued that Montgomery's conclusion was correct; the Samaritan Dositheans came from the Judean Essenes. It is enough that there is a relationship between Samaria and Qumran regardless of where it began.

Indeed for further proof of their kinship it is only necessary to pass to John Bowman's studies of the Zadokite priesthood in Judea, Samaria, and Qumran, and particularly to his conclusion that "the messiahs of Aaron and Israel of the Discipline Manual do seem parallel to the Nasi of Ezekiel and his Zadokite priests and also to the Taheb of the Samaritans and their Zadokite High Priest."[73] Bowman has further observed that the Samaritan and Qumran calendars, although not identical, must have been very similar, e.g., neither of them celebrate Purim or Hanukkah.[74] Moreover, "While it cannot be demonstrated that there was any connection between Samaritan sects and Qumran, Abu'l Fatḥ tells of one [Samaritan] Dusis [i.e., Dosithean] sect (Abiya and Dusa) that went into the wilderness (beyond the Jordan). . . ."[75]

Following Bowman and Black, J. M. Ford wrote a paper in which she argued that there was an "Essenism predating Philo and Josephus, in which we may see elements akin to Samaritan theology, and a Judaism which represents no distinct division between the Northern and Southern 'kingdoms.'"[76] She adds that she thinks it more probable "that the Essenes may be a branch of the Samaritans" rather than a "development from the Pharisees."[77] Moreover, although the great emphasis placed on Deuteronomy (a northern book) by both the Samaritans and Qumranites is one of the strongest indications of a link between the two groups, she observes that there are even stronger ones. For example, some of the graves at Qumran are oriented so that the feet of the deceased face Mt. Gerizim, and the Copper Treasure Scroll mentions treasures buried at Jerusalem _and_ Mt. Gerizim.[78] There is also emphasis on Moses; there is the fact that nowhere in the scrolls are the Samaritans criticized (contra the Jewish Talmud, Mishna, Midrashim, etc.); and there are the titles "Keepers of the Law," "Sons of Light," and "Sons of Zadok" (all used by both groups), etc.[79]

Finally, much of the Qumran literature takes a Samaritan viewpoint of Israelite history. For example, Ford notes that it is possible to conceive of the Damascus Document "as a Samaritan-Jewish polemic against the Judaizers of Jerusalem." This is especially true in the use of the phrase, "builders of the wall" (_Dam_. _Doc_. VIII,18), which seems to refer to the dispute in Ezra and Nehemiah between the returning Exiles and the "Samaritans" over rebuilding Jerusalem.[80] The entry ritual in the Manual of Discipline is quite similar to the Samaritan rituals during pilgrimages to Mt. Gerizim, and the authority over property of the "Sons of Zadok," together with the assembly rules in it and those of the Memar Marqah (ca. 3rd-4th cen. A.D.), are virtually identical.[81] Like Bowman, Ford notes the use of a predominantly solar calendar by both groups, as opposed to the predominantly lunar calendar of the Sadducees and Pharisees, as well as their interest in the Zodiac.[82] Also, she comments that while the Qumran Teacher of Righteousness makes a poor pre-Christian Jesus of Nazareth, he makes "a better Taheb."[83]

In conclusion, J. M. Ford thinks all the following Qumran documents have strong Samaritan ties: the Damascus Document, the Rule of the Community, the Oration of Moses (the "Oration," especially, was highly esteemed by the Samaritans for use at funerals, and the Memar Marqah comments on it),[84] the Angelic Liturgy, the Book of Mysteries, the Psalms of Joshua, and the Patriarchal Blessings.[85] Ford continues:

> Although one cannot identify the Qumran sectarians and the Samaritans, yet the present writer would suggest that Samaritan thought influenced the theology of Qumran and that perhaps people whom later we include among the Samaritans may have been present at Qumran. If the Essenes were a branch of the Samaritans, then these Samaritan elements at Qumran are understandable.[86]

4. The Rachel/Leah Dichotomy, Stephen, and the Samaritans

At this point it becomes profitable to return to the narrative about Stephen and his speech in Acts and approach it from a different angle. The question now to be asked, especially since Acts 8:5 connects one of "the Seven" with the Samaritan mission, is whether there is any evidence that Stephen is connected with the Samaritans, who, as has been argued, probably are the remnant of the ancient northern Kingdom of Israel.

If we begin with the number "seven" of the group to which Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolaus, a proselyte of Antioch, belonged (Acts 6:5), and its relationship with the "Seventy" of Lk. 10:1ff.,[87] who also worked in Samaria, it can be noted that the later fourth-century Samaritan reformer Baba Rabba also established a college of seven wise men.[88] Moreover, the seventy elders of Num. 11:16-22 are constantly referred to by the Samaritans as the ones who gave them the Law.[89]

From the significance of the number seven, one passes to a consideration of the form and content of Stephen's speech in Acts 7. In the first place, a number of scholars has attempted to argue that Stephen's summarized history of Israel is based on the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP). For one thing, Acts 7:4, unlike Gen. 11:26,32 MT and LXX, agrees with the SP that Terah died at the age of 145 (while according to the MT and LXX Terah was 205 years old at death).[90] Also, Acts 7:32 quotes the Ex. 3:6 SP reading, "God of your fathers," unlike the singular "father" in the MT and LXX. Again, in Acts 7:37 the sequence is interrupted with the insertion of Deut. 18:15 (or v. 18?), about "the prophet like Moses," into Ex. 20, which agrees again with the Samaritan Pentateuch. Finally, Acts 7:5 (quoting Deut. 2:5) uses the word "inheritance" (κληρονομίαν), not found in the MT or LXX traditions but found in Samaritan texts which read ירשוה (= κληρονομία) at this same point.[91]

In the second place, there are Pentateuchal quotes which can be said to reflect a distinctive Samaritan view of Israel's history. For example, Acts 7:42 reflects Jer. 7:18; 19:13, in which Jeremiah foretells the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, a prophecy of judgment on Jerusalem itself. Moreover, it contains an allusion to the removal of the Tabernacle from Shechem to Shiloh by Eli, which according to all Samaritans was the greatest sin of all times.[92] In addition, Acts 7:42, 43, citing Amos 5:25-27, changes "beyond Damascus" to "beyond Babylon," thus making Amos' denunciation apply to the southern kingdom of Judah. Moreover, Acts 7:45, 46 alludes to Ps. 132:5 but is changed so that David builds a secular capital (σκήνωμα) or "habitation" for Jacob, not, as the MT reads, a "dwelling place" or "sanctuary." Finally, Acts 7:49, 50 cites Isa. 66:1, 2, but changes it so that emphasis is placed on the question of the legitimate "place" (τόπος) for sacrifice. Within this context, it can only mean a condemnation of the Jerusalem temple, which, moreover, is explicitly stated (Acts 7:47-49).[92]

In the third place, things are said by Stephen which would be agreeable to a Samaritan viewpoint but which cannot yet be found per se in Samaritan traditions. For example, in Acts 7:15, 16 the Patriarchs are buried at Shechem, contra MT Gen. 49:29-33; 50:13, where Hebron is the place where Jacob was buried.[93] In Acts 7:7, in the words addressed to Abraham (cf. Ex. 3:12), the word "mountain" is changed to "place," a Samaritan term for a sacred place, i.e., according to Stephen God assures Abraham that Shechem is an accepted place of worship. Then, in Acts 7:47-50, Israel's greatest apostasy was building a "Temple" at Jerusalem "made with human hands" as opposed to the "Tabernacle" brought from Egypt. Finally, Acts 7:37 contains a Taheb Christology based on Deut. 18:15,18.

In the fourth place, there are miscellaneous features which are "indicative of a Samaritan outlook." For example, Stephen's Heilsgeschichte ends with the building of the Jerusalem temple, i.e., the second greatest apostasy by the Jews, according to the Samaritans. Then there is great emphasis placed upon the patriarch of the northern tribes, Joseph, the father of Ephraim and Manasseh. Finally, there are: an exaltation of Moses as in Samaritan tradition; a reference to the Ephraimite Joshua, the Samaritan hero second in importance only to Moses; references to Haran (Acts 7:2, 4); and an emphasis upon "our fathers" and "our race" (Acts 7:2, 11,12,15,19,38,39,44,45) which stresses Samaritan descent from the northern tribes and patriarchs.[94]

Likewise, Stephen's peculiar reference to the *standing* Son of Man (Acts 7:56) can be connected to both heterodox *and* orthodox Samaritan thought.[95] First, it can be noted that Simon Magus, who is also mentioned in connection with one of "the Seven" (Acts 8:9ff.), is said by the Pseudo-Clementines to have claimed to be "the Standing One" (ὁ εστώς); and he struggles with Dositheus in those documents for the right to possess that title (cf. *Clem. Hom.* II,22,24).[96] On the other hand, in *orthodox* Samaritanism, Moses will stand during the eschaton and intercede for Israel before God (Memar Marqah I,10; V,2; VI,3). Macdonald has written on this that the Samaritan *ha-Ma'mad* ("the standing") is a dramatic part of the Last Day, because "the idea of humanity standing before God is an ancient one, certainly found in the Old Testament (passim), but it is in Islam and Samaritanism that the Standing becomes a definite element in the Resurrection scene."[97] Finally, it is interesting to note that Nicolaus, one of the Seven, is described as a proselyte from Antioch (Acts 6:5);[98] and from the little known about the later Samaritan Christian church it can be concluded that "the church in Samaria was generally supportive of the position of the church of Antioch in its disagreement with some Jewish Christians [cf. Acts 11:19ff. and 15:3]."[99]

A number of scholars, however, have not agreed with these connections proposed between Stephen's speech and Samaritan theology. W. L. Knox, for example, attempts to argue that Stephen's speech is most similar to the Epistle of Barnabas and the views of Marcion.[100] Others have noted the discovery of the Samaritan Pentateuch at Qumran and have argued that the SP was not a textual tradition peculiar to the Samaritans. In other words, in their view the SP is simply a non-Masoretic Palestinian textual tradition which they connect up with their evolutionary theories of textual families.[101]

For example, W. H. Mare[102] and Reinhard Pummer[103] have argued with Frank Cross that the SP belongs to a tradition which is "not specifically Samaritan"; it belongs to a whole family of Palestinian texts.[104] Actually the root of this argument is a defense of Frank Cross's theory of local texts as opposed to Paul Kahle's theory that the SP was an ancient popular tradition which survived independently of the MT.[105] However, to say that the "SP is not Samaritan" seems to be self-contradictory and clearly arises from a strained attempt both to defend Cross's theory and to deny or rob the Samaritans of any basis for their religious differences with the Jews. This originates from vestiges of Hegelianism and clearly is an attempt to make all the versions of the Bible Jewish at all costs. However, one of Cross's students, J. D. Purvis, gives a solution when he writes:

> This phenomenon [i.e., the agreement of parts of Stephen's Speech with the SP] in itself may not be as important as has been suggested, inasmuch as these readings could simply reflect the use of non-Masoretic Palestinian textual tradition (of which the Samaritan Pentateuch was itself a redaction). What does seem to be important is that the speech of Stephen reflects a Samaritan view of history, from Abraham to Solomon.[106]

Purvis concludes: "On the whole it must be said that a tentative case has been made for the Samaritan background of Stephen, although not all of the suggestions offered merit consideration."[107]

a. Stephen as a Hebrew

There are a number of points which should be clarified before we return to Cullmann's thesis concerning Stephen and the Fourth Gospel. First, it is important to note that the identification of Stephen, Philip, and the other members of "the Seven" with the "Hellenists" is by no means certain. Indeed a strong case can be presented in favor of the position that Stephen, Philip, and at least some of the other members of "the Seven" were really Hebrews. Even more significantly, if this is true it would actually strengthen Scobie's and Cullmann's contentions that Stephen, the Fourth Gospel, and the Epistle to the Hebrews are all closely related to one another.[108] Second, it should be added that even if one of "the Seven" should be proven to be a "Hellenist," e.g., Nicolaus the proselyte, this would not necessitate all of the others being "Hellenists," because "the Seven" were chosen as intermediaries in the dispute between the "Hellenists" and "Hebrews" (Acts 6:1-3). Thus it would be logical for "the Seven" to include both "Hellenists" and "Hebrews."[109]

As far as this writer can determine, only two scholars have ever held that Stephen, Philip, and the other members of "the Seven" were "Hebrews," i.e., Abraham Spiro[110] and E. Trocmé.[111] In Trocmé's view, those who belonged to "the Seven" were "Hebrews"

(Ἑβραῖοι) because they emphasized Moses and the wilderness wanderings and wanted to differentiate themselves from the "Jews" by calling themselves "Hebrews."[112]

Now there is no doubt that the Samaritans *as early as Josephus* referred to themselves as "Hebrews" to differentiate themselves from "the Jews" (*Ant*. XI,8,6).[113] Moreover, E. Ferguson inadvertently adds support to the Hebrew-Samaritan equation when he observes that the use of the term "Hebrew" in the New Testament era "seems, however, often a term for the past and is used especially in contexts that call up allusions of *loyalty to the ancestral customs*."[114] Now as has been argued in this chapter, and as almost every Samaritan scholar has observed, this is an apt description for a sect who may be considered to have been ultra-conservative or reactionary.[115]

Thus the question arises concerning the possibility of a connection between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Samaritans. First, as John Macdonald notes, if the Epistle to the Hebrews is dated sometime after 70 A.D., then the very fact that it displays such great interest in the High Priest connects it with Samaria because *only the Samaritans had a high priest, and probably a Zadokite one at that, after Jerusalem was destroyed; Judaism, however, passed under the influence of the Pharisees and Rabbis who had little use for priests*.[116] In support of this is the fact that the picture of Jesus as the High Priest in Heb. 5:10; 6:20 is, in Macdonald's words, "remarkably close to the Samaritan [picture of its high priest]."[117] For example, the Book of Hebrews emphasizes the Day of Atonement which was the supreme festival for the Samaritan High Priest. Likewise for Heb. 10:21f. and the Samaritans, "There is a great priest over the House of God, so that men may draw near with sincerity and assurance to the throne of God"[118]; and both the Book of Hebrews (for Jesus) and the Memar Marqah (for Moses) state that they are respectively high priests in two sanctuaries (cf. Memar Marqah IV,6,12 and Heb. 8:1-5; cf. 2:7,9,16f.; 13:2,5f.; 4:14; 5:5-7; 9:11). But perhaps most conclusively, in Heb. 9:3,4 it is said that the altar of incense stands within the Holy of Holies, which does not agree with the MT description in Exodus. However, in the SP (Ex. 30:1-10), the description of the incense altar appears between Ex. 26:35 and 26:36 so that it immediately follows the description of the Holy of Holies. Scobie concludes: "The misunderstanding evidenced in Heb. ix.3,4 can thus be understood if the writer based his knowledge of the Tabernacle on the SP."[119] Besides, Melchizedek is mentioned in the Samaritan Asatir (VII,19), dated by its translator, Moses Gaster, ca. 250-200 B.C.?[120] and in Eusebius, Praep. Evang. IX,17,18,26,30-34,39 there are fragments from a Pseudo-Eupolemos, a so-called "Hellenistic" Samaritan writer, in which Melchizedek plays a major role.[121]

In particular, two scholars of the Epistle to the Hebrews, E. A. Knox[122] and R. J. F. Trotter,[123] have argued that either the Samaritan Christians were the intended audience of the book (Knox), or at least the fourth-century Samaritans knew the work (Trotter).

Knox argued that it was addressed to Samaritan Christians, with Philip the Evangelist (Acts 8) as its author.[124] Likewise, various attempts by other scholars to identify the addressees (Hebrews?) of the Epistle have led many to note their kinship with Stephen and "the Seven" of Acts.[125]

But perhaps the most striking agreement between the Epistle to the Hebrews and Stephen's speech is the concept of the mobile Tabernacle.[126] Also both reject Davidic Christology, although Hebrews is quite aware that Jesus is from Judah (7:14). Scobie summarizes the points of agreement between Hebrews, Stephen's speech, and Samaritan theology by stating that "the theology of Hebrews has remarkable connections with the theology of Stephen's speech though it represents a different line of development than the Fourth Gospel [sic]."[127] According to Scobie, both minimize future eschatology and emphasize "a theology of fulfilment." Both reject Davidic Christology, and although "Mosaic christology makes an appearance" it "has given way to more complex and, in the author's mind, more adequate categories."[128] Jesus, like Moses, is "the one sent (ἀπόστολος) by God." Jesus' ascension and exaltation almost displace the resurrection as "a major theme." The exalted Christ's role as an intercessor is emphasized, and "the true worship of God is also a key pattern."[129] In both of them the Tabernacle prefigured "the pattern now fulfilled by Christ." Heb. 8:8-12 quotes Jer. 31:31-34, which may be a reference to the "eschatological reunion of God's people," i.e., the "new covenant with the

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house of Israel and with the house of Judah." Scobie concludes: "Hebrews represents in a highly developed form the theology of one branch of the Stephen-Philip movement."[130]

Still Scobie is loath either to identify the author of Hebrews as a "Samaritan Christian," because of Hebrews' dependence upon Philo,[131] and unlike Stephen's speech, its extensive use of non-Pentateuchal books, as well as the Mt. Zion theology present in it--Heb. 12:22,[132] or to identify "the Seven" of Acts as "Hebrews."[133] His reason for refusing to accept "the Seven" as Hebrews seems to be the notion that if the "Hebrews" of Acts 6-8 are Samaritans, then references to "Hebrews" in the rest of Acts as well as in all the references in the early Jewish and Christian literature would be problematical. This sort of thinking, of course, derives from an etymological concept of semantics, and overlooks the fact that meaning is determined by context alone.[134] In any case, it should be noted that the meaning of the term "Hebrew" must have been very broad since such a wide diversity of individuals were called "Hebrews," e.g., Paul (Phil. 3:5; 2 Cor. 11:22), Philo (Eusebius, H.E. II,4,2), and Trypho (Eusebius, H.E. IV,18,6).[135]

Moreover, there is some evidence within the text in question, Acts 6-8, that at least Stephen was a "Hebrew." First, note that Acts 6:1 describes the dispute as between the Hellenists and Hebrews. Second, Stephen's opponents are described in Acts 6:9 as Greeks "who belonged to the synagogue of the Freedmen (as it was called), and of the Cyrenians, and of the Alexandrians, and of those from Cilicia and Asia [who] arose and disputed with Stephen." In other words, they were the "villains," and following the rule of Meletinsky, a contemporary Russian Formalist, that the villains always belong to "foreigners" or "outsiders,"[136] it would seem that they are not to be identified as belonging to the same group as Stephen. Moreover, Acts 11:19f. would appear to agree with this. There it is said that "those who were scattered because of the persecution that arose over Stephen [i.e., those who belonged to Stephen's group] travelled as far as Phoenicia and Cyprus and Antioch, speaking the word to none except Jews. But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who on coming to Antioch spoke to the Hellenists [some MSS read "Greeks" here] also preaching the Lord Jesus." Now this passage has always been somewhat of an embarassment to those attempting to identify Stephen and "the Seven" as Hellenists. As proof one need only note that virtually every English translation (e.g., R.S.V., Jerusalem Bible, etc.) has translated this passage using the poorest texts! It is very amusing to read the various commentators' attempts to explain first why the alleged "Hellenists" initially spoke only to Jews, and then how the "Hellenists" are said to speak to the "Hellenists"!

However, all becomes clear if it is argued that "the Seven" were composed of both "Hebrews" and "Hellenists." But in any case, the preponderance of the evidence cited earlier demonstrates that

Stephen was either a Samaritan himself (the most probable conclusion), or at the very least was a sympathetic "insider" of the Samaritan point of view. Of course it is not crucial to the argument here that Stephen be a "Hebrew," but the information concerning the Book of Hebrews' relationship to Stephen and the Samaritans, i.e., the very title of that epistle, supports this position.

b. Problems with Stephen's Speech being Regarded as Samaritan

However, three problems arise if Stephen's speech is to be considered a source or prototype of early Samaritan Christianity. First, Stephen's speech is marked by a "universalism"; and as S. Zeitlin notes, "A universal God does not reside in any particular house. He is everywhere." Moreover, he adds, "the Pentateuch [alone] does not recognize conversion to Judaism." It is only in "the later prophetic books" that such universalism is found.[137] Thus from the Jewish point of view, since it was the Samaritans who emphasized worship at a particular place, Mt. Gerizim, and it was they who recognized only the Pentateuch (and perhaps the Book of Joshua) as canonical (if they may be said to have possessed a canon), it could be contended that Samaritan religion would not contain this universalism. This argument shows, however, how influential the victors' (i.e., the Jews') histories can become in any religious struggle; they distort the losers' (i.e., the Samaritans') point of view. It is only necessary to turn to the Memar Marqah where universalism is so clearly stated that it is somewhat reminiscent of Jesus' great commission (Mtt. 28:16-20). The Memar Marqah VI,2 states: "It is good that we know the truth and fill our hearts with the instruction of knowledge, and then teach all nations." Macdonald goes even further when he states that he even sees in Marqah's Memar a "consideration of the non-Samaritan, in that he perceived that the absolute justice of God could not condemn those who had not had access to the means of grace, but had nevertheless lived a good life."[138] But whether they went to heaven or hell, or someplace in between, is not stated.

Even more of a problem is the use of O.T. prophets in Stephen's speech. In response it should be noted that the prophetic passages that are utilized are altered so that "in each case the text has been selected and worded so as to reflect a strong pro-Samaritan and anti-Jerusalem bias."[139] In our view, this is an excellent example of the phenomenon described earlier (p. 122 above) where a member of an in-group takes something from the out-group which "promises cognitive gain" as his own. Perhaps, as Scobie suggests, "one 'price of admission' into the Christian church for the Samaritans was the acceptance of the post-Pentateuchal writings."[140] But even with this, Stephen's speech still shows that "the other books were accepted only grudgingly and with alterations."[141]

Purvis takes a different tack when he suggests that even though almost all the O.T. prophets, with the significant exception of Ezekiel, were discredited by the Samaritans, Elijah being called "the sorcerer" and Elisha, "the soothsayer," it could be "that traditions concerning Elijah and Elisha as popular folk heroes circulated in northern Palestine quite independently of the Samaritan movement centered at Gerizim. . . ."[142] But when referring to Samaritan sources, it must be remembered again that they reflect the views of the so-called "orthodox" Samaritan religion of the priests. Thus J. M. Ford, citing Moses Gaster,[143] observes, "It is not impossible that some Samaritans did accept the prophetic writings, and at Qumran both Jews and Samaritans may have tried to work out a common understanding. . . ."[144]

To this may be added two intriguing statements from Jewish sources. First, it is said by the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Num. 25:12; cf. Ex. 4:13; 6:18 that Kehath, a son of Levi, "lived to see Phinehas, who is Elijah, the Great Priest" (cf. Bem. R. XXI,3 on Num. 25:11-13; Ps. Philo, chap. 28; and Pirke R. Eliezer, chap. 47). Phineas was perhaps one of the most important high priests in Samaritan history, and a number of their priests were named after him. Second, the Babylonian Talmud (T. B. Sanh. 90b) says that a Samaritan elder quoted _Psalms_ 72:16 to Rabbi Meir (second century A.D.). While the latter is not a citation from the Prophets, it raises the question whether or not, for some Samaritans at least, the non-Pentateuchal writings were revered. Although Pseudo-Tertullian, XI, Philastrius, _De haer_,4, and a few Patristic sources[145] claimed that the Dositheans rejected the

Prophets, Epiphanius (Pan.I,1,13 [P.G.41, cols.233-238]) argued that the Dositheans "observed and practiced the same feasts [as the Jews]," because "Dositheus was originally from the Jews." And everything that is known about Dositheus and the Dositheans indicates that they were influenced by Pharisaic Judaism; or in Samaritan eyes they were "Judaizers."[146] Furthermore, the Samaritan Adler Chronicle states that the Dosithean canon was nothing else than the Jewish Torah.[147] K. Kohler has even argued on the basis of their relationship with the Zadokites that the Dositheans cited the prophetic books.[148]

The final problem concerns Stephen's assertion that the Law was given to Moses "by the angels" (Acts 7:53) which, it has been argued, could not have agreed with Samaritan theology.[149] But while it seems fruitless to attempt to account for every peculiarity of Stephen's speech on the basis of Samaritan theology, there is some information to suggest that the Samaritans may have known this tradition as well. First, Macdonald observes, "It is a marked characteristic of Samaritanism that revelation is never given directly to men (excepting Moses, God's 'Man'), but only through angels, visions and dreams."[150] Moreover, and this statement is highly significant in the light of earlier discussion in this chapter, "This accords precisely with the theology underlying the so-called E (northern Israelite) stratum in the Pentateuch as against the strongly anthropomorphic theology of Judah (found in the so-called J stratum)."[151] Further confirmation of Macdonald's observation is supplied by the fact that Marqah in his Memar, when he quotes scripture, clearly favors the E and D strata of the Pentateuch and virtually neglects the southern J and P strata, even though the SP contained all four alleged sources.[152]

On the one hand, according to Macdonald, "there was no third person" between Moses and God on Mount Sinai.[153] On the other hand, the Samaritan Liturgy (passim) and the Memar Marqah state that angels were present when Moses received the Law; and, in Macdonald's words, "No Near Eastern religion is more abundant than that of the Samaritans in reference to the angels and to their place in the affairs of the world."[153] Likewise, there are two other N.T. passages which seem to suggest that the angels were mediators of the Law, Gal. 3:19 and Heb. 2:2.[154] (Is it only coincidence that one of them is in the Epistle to the Hebrews?)

Perhaps the solution to this problem is simply that there was a later desire to exalt the status of Moses which produced the doctrine that Moses received the Law directly from God, while originally the Samaritans believed the Law was given to Moses by the angels. The possibility of this can be seen in the agreement between Jubilees 1:29; cf. 6:32-38 and the Samaritan Tolidah that the calendar was given to Moses by an angel.[155] Moreover, like Jubilees, the Tolidah reckons the history of Israel in Jubilee years.[156] R. H. Charles was amazed to note that the ages of the antediluvian patriarchs in Jubilees and the Tolidah agreed against the Old Testament (MT, SP, and LXX alike).[157] Add to this the fact that the present Samaritan calendar seems to be based on the Jubilees calendar,[158] and the fact that Jub. 1:27-29 gives perhaps the earliest tradition of an angel giving the Law to Moses, and one is led to the conclusion that the Samaritans knew the book of Jubilees and its tradition of an angel giving the Law to Moses.[159] Finally, Abu'l Fath clearly states that Stephen, whom he describes as "the disciple, who had first borne witness of the messiah," was a Samaritan, and that Simon Magus was buried near Stephen's home in Samaria.[160]

Thus it can be concluded that Stephen was a representative of Samaritan Christianity and that this Christianity is most probably to be labeled as "Hebrew," defining "Hebrew," and "Samaritan," as representative of the remnant of northern Israelite religion.

C. The Rachel/Leah Dichotomy as Reflected in the Fourth Gospel's Dramatis Personae

The next question to be addressed is whether or not these North/South, Israel/Judah, Shechem/Jerusalem, Tabernacle/Temple, Moses/David, charismatic leadership/dynastic leadership, "House of Joseph"/Judah and Benjamin, nomadic god/sedentary god, manifestation/presence, and finally Zadokite priests/Jerusalem priests "ideal types"--have any value for understanding the New Testament era and more specifically for discovering the cultural context of John?

1. The Jews in John's Gospel

a. The Jews as Villains in John's Gospel

Now of all the dramatis personae the most important and the most culturally significant are the hero and the villain, since they are the two around whom the rest of the narrative revolves. Of these two it is always the villain who initiates the action to which the hero responds,[161] and who, in terms of the cultural context underlying the narrative, E. Meletinsky and the other contemporary Russian Formalists continuing Propp's work have concluded "always corresponds to 'foreign.'"[162] This also follows from our earlier observation that culture can be stated in terms of "we" vs. "they." Thus almost every tale can be structurally described as a conflict between "own" (i.e., the hero) and "foreign" (i.e., the villain), and is "resolved through the fight and victory of own over foreign."[163]

To be sure, in narratives in which the hero is abused by his own people the hero will be helped or aided by characters foreign to him.[164] However, this does not mean that these "helpers"[165] are foreign to the culture for which that tale was written because it still remains true that the villain alone belongs to "foreign."

Thus the fundamental folktale structure can be said to begin "with the break-up of a family and end with the creation of a new one."[166] In tales where there is an own-foreign conflict within a family the hero resolves this, not by a victory over the villain (who is after all his own family), but by the transformation of the status of whoever is foreign or innocently persecuted into a higher status, or by the creation of a new family.[167]

Thus the basic structure of the Fourth Gospel is set forth quite clearly in its prologue:[168] "He came to his own people, and they received him not. But as many as received him, to them he gave the right to become the children of God. . . ." (Jn. 1:11f.). In other words, Jesus' advent creates a conflict within his own family (cf. Jn. 7:40-43; 9:16; 10:19-21) and henceforth either they reject him or they believe him and become members of his new family, i.e., the "children of God" (cf. Jn. 11:52; chap. 13, esp. 13:33; chap. 15; 16:21; chap. 17; 21:5; cf. 1 Jn. 2:1,12,13,18,28; esp. 3:1,2; 3:7,18; 4:4; 5:2,21; 3 Jn. 1:4). Now in John are "the Jews" really villains? If they are, what kind of villains are they?

b. Consensus on the Jews as Villains in John's Gospel

On the question of the villainy of "the Jews" in John, the present consensus is that "the Jews" are indeed villains.[169] For example, M. de Jonge has observed that "the Jews" in John are so hostile to the hero, Jesus, that even "sympathetic Jews are considered outsiders."[170] For the Fourth Gospel, the father of "the Jews" is said to be the devil, and they, like him, are murderers (Jn. 8:44; cf. 1 Jn. 3:12) and liars (Jn. 8:44ff.).

The references to them as outsiders or foreigners (Jn. 2:6; 2:13; 4:25; 5:1; 6:4; 19:40) suggest to J. Vink that "the writer is addressing a non-Jewish, gentile audience."[171] F. C. Grant thinks that the author of John is "determined to make Jesus as un-Jewish, even as anti-Jewish as possible. . . ."[172] S. Pancaro notes that in Jn. 11:50-52 the Greek term for "Gentile" (ἔθνος) is used for "the Jews," which he thinks is ironical.[173] R. T. Fortna, in an excellent study, states that the use of the term "the Jews" in John "obliterates virtually all distinctions within first-century Palestinian society by speaking of the Jews in an external, monolithic way"; and this conclusion "applies not only to the Jerusalem authorities *but also to the people as a whole*, and often the narrower and wider references cannot be distinguished." Fortna, after noting several passages (e.g., Jn. 2:18,20; 6:52; 7:35; 8:22; 9:18; 11:37; 6:41; 8:48,52; 10:20; cf. 5:16,18; 7:1; 8:59; 10:31; 11:8), concludes, "*In all these passages, the Jews are stereotyped as the enemies of Jesus*"; and a climax is reached in the Passion narrative where Jesus refers to them "as if not himself a Jew" (13:33; 18:20).[174]

There are a few exceptions to the view that John has stereotyped "the Jews" as villains, and they are most illuminating. J. W. Bowker, for example, notes that "the Jews'" position towards Jesus changes as one progresses through the Gospel. In the first half of the book, they are an "uncommitted group . . . amongst whom there arises a succession of dividing issues."[175] This observation is most significant in the light of the narrative structures of tales involving an "inner-familial" conflict. Some scholars in the past argued that John was even a missionary tract addressed to the Jews,[176] but today the consensus is clearly against that view.[177]

Of all the pro-Jewish statements in the Gospel, the one most often cited by scholars is Jesus' statement to the Samaritan woman: "Salvation is of the Jews" (Jn. 4:22). But scholars have seldom noted that the opposition implicit in this statement, i.e., Jew (Jesus)/Samaritan (woman), is a mirror image of the opposition present in the most anti-Jewish statements of John chapter 8, and especially 8:48, i.e., "the Jews"/Samaritan (Jesus). In other words, in Jn. 4:22 Jesus contrasts himself as a Jew with the Samaritans, but in Jn. 8:48 he is contrasted as a Samaritan with the Jews. We can express this inversion in a simple schema:

```
Jesus - - - - -|- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -|- - - - - - - - - >
        "Salvation is              "Are we not right
         of the Jews"               in saying that you
         Jn. 4:22                   are a Samaritan?"
                                    Jn. 8:48
```

Clearly the situation of the hero and his villains has changed from chapter 4 to chapter 8. Nevertheless, the statement in the Prologue concerning Jesus' "own" remains valid throughout the Gospel. Still it is perilous to conclude at this stage that the usage of "the Jews" in John's Gospel indicates a cultural distance between the Johannine community and the Jews, for as Meeks observes, the presumption that only "an outsider" would speak of Jewish customs as "of the Jews" (e.g., Jn. 2:13; 4:22; 5:1; 6:4; 11:55) has now been shaken by the "discovery that Bar Kochba (or someone very close to him) could speak in just this fashion." Nevertheless, Meeks concludes, it is safe to assume that references to "the Jews" are "generally used in an alien, even hostile sense . . . ."[178]

c. Differing Identifications of the Jews in John's Gospel

But who are "the Jews" in John? There is no general consensus. First, there are those who see the use of "the Jews" in John as an example of anti-Semitism on the part of the Johannine community in which case "the Jews" are considered to be "a racial group outside the church."[179] The anthropologist, Edmund Leach, has given perhaps the best rebuttal when he notes that the racial characteristics of the Jews are not in any way "significantly different from those of their neighbors" because "the Jews as a group have not maintained their rules of endogamy."[180]

The second group of scholars concludes that "the Jews" in John are symbols of "the unbelieving world."[181] This view usually sees two types of Jews in John. There are "the Jews" who do not believe in Jesus, and "the Israelites," like Nathanael and Nicodemus, who believe. In this case, "Israel" is seen to mean "the new Israel" of Paul (Rom. 9:6; cf. 2 Cor. 3:6; 5:17; Gal. 6:15, etc.), which would be composed of Christians.[182] Against those who hold this position is Jn. 8:31-59. The passage begins by stating that "the Jews" who were present "believed in him" (8:31). Then as Jesus talks with them their animosity towards him grows, and at the end Jesus calls them liars, murderers, and sons of the Devil.[183]

A third group of scholars attempts to argue that "the Jews" in John reflect a conflict between the synagogue and the church. K. L. Carroll is a good example.[184] He argues that the Fourth Gospel's attitude towards the Jews originates from the Birkath ha-Minim decree, drawn up after the destruction of Jerusalem, banning the Minim (lit. "heretics") from the synagogues. These scholars assume the Fourth Gospel to have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.; and they point to passages in the Gospel where expulsion from the synagogue is mentioned (Jn. 9:22; 12:42; 16:2).[185] To hold this position they must prove a series of assumptions: first, that the Fourth Gospel must be dated after the destruction of Jerusalem; second, that the term Minim ("heretics") refers to Jewish Christians; and third, that the references in John reflect the Birkath ha-Minim decree. But Jn. 16:2 presents something of a problem since it refers to persons being thrown out of a synagogue and being killed for confessing Jesus.

The fourth group of scholars holds a more promising view in the context of the position presented here, but unfortunately they do not go far enough. For this group "the Jews" in John are closely connected with the topographical oppositions present in the Gospel. For example, G. J. Cuming thinks that "the Jews" have "a special association with Jerusalem; . . . [they are] Judaeans as opposed to Galileans." For him "the choice of the word 'Judaeans' to describe them strongly suggests that the Evangelist was a Galilean."[186] Scholars who hold this position note the opposition in the Gospel between Galilee which accepts Jesus, and Jerusalem and Judea where he is rejected; and they add the observation that οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι can refer to either the region or the people.[187] Perhaps one of the best studies from this viewpoint is that of C. Dekker which argues that except for Jn. 6:41, 52 all "the Jews" in John are situated in Judea. He explains this exception by noting the textual aporias which exist between Jn. 6 and chaps. 5 and 7, and by arguing that chap. 6 was composed by a redactor.[188] Citing Gutbrod's article[189] on the subject, Dekker notes that in the post-exilic era "Jew" was a term exclusively applied to the inhabitants of the province of Judea. Thus Dekker thinks the term "the Jews" in John reflects a Palestinian colloquial usage which limited the term to mean "inhabitants of the province of Judea."[190]

As Michaels notes, however, the problem is that only three of the passages which refer to "Judeans" make this limitation specific (Jn. 7:1; 11:8,54). There are forty-one other passages which refer to Judeans simply because the "scene of action is Judea." Since most of the Fourth Gospel takes place in Judea, "matters could hardly be otherwise."[191]

d. Cultural Differences within Judaism as a Key for Identifying the Jews in John's Gospel

Another group of scholars interpret "the Jews" in John as a reflection of *certain cultural differences* within Judaism itself.[192] Cullmann, for example, like S. Schultz[193] and R. Leistner,[194] holds that there is a sectarian/Pharisaic Judaism conflict in John, but he adds that *this sectarian Judaism was connected with "the Hellenists" (i.e., "the Seven") of Acts 6-7*.[195] Cullmann notes in Jn. 4:35 that "others" (ἄλλοι) began the Christian mission to Samaria and the Apostles "entered into" the results of their work. This, he adds, "corresponds exactly to the report in Acts 8," which says that the Hellenists, especially Philip, began Christian missionary work in Samaria. Moreover, in Acts 8:14, after the Samaritans have become Christians, the Twelve send John and Peter to Samaria where they "really 'entered' into the work of 'others.'"[196]

Continuing from this foundation, Cullmann adds that there is agreement between John's Gospel and the Hellenists of Acts 6-8 on two points. First, it can be noted that the *earliest* N.T. reference to the "Son of Man" concept is made by Stephen in Acts 7:56. In particular, Cullmann notes that the Christological title "Son of Man" is found in these works: (1) the book of Enoch, which may be Essene; (2) Stephen's final statement, with Acts never using the title again; and (3) the Fourth Gospel "in which the title 'Son of Man' is even more important than the title 'Logos.'"[197]

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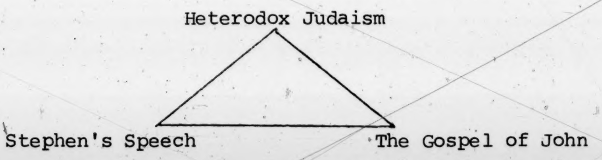
Second, both John and the "Hellenists," i.e., "the Seven," agree in their *opposition to the Jerusalem Temple*. Indeed this opposition is the reason for Stephen's martyrdom and the beginning of the Samaritan mission. Moreover, this criticism is also found in the Essenes and at Qumran (cf. Josephus, *Ant*. XVIII,1,5; *Manual of Discipline* IX,3f.; Philo, *Quod, omnis probus liber*, 75).[198] As for John, Cullmann notes that "John's Gospel is more concerned with the question of the Temple than the Synoptics [are]." He notes that "already in the Prologue the incarnate Logos is indirectly contrasted with the 'Shekinah (δόξα)' of God in the Temple." More specifically, "In the place of the Tabernacle (σκηνή), to which God's presence had been bound and to which vs. 14 refers, steps the person of Jesus Christ." In other words, by the end of the first chapter, "the bond between heaven and earth is no longer limited to a holy place such as Bethel . . . but is now in the Son of Man. . . ."[199] From this, Cullmann suggests the following schema[200] for expressing this interrelationship:



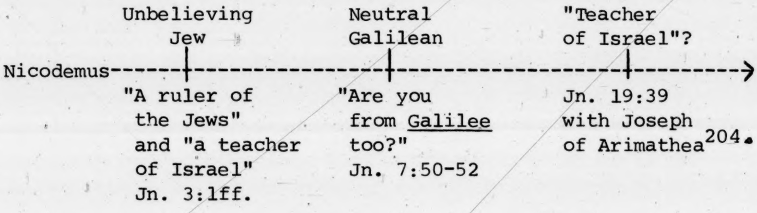
In a recently published work, entitled *The Johannine Circle*, Cullmann updates his argument, specifically with *some* of the recent Samaritan research on Stephen's speech which we presented earlier. Consequently, even Cullmann has withdrawn somewhat from his conclusion that the Qumran literature is the key to the understanding of "the Jews" in John. But a reluctance can be detected in him to go further.[201] Utilizing the system of oppositions which we traced throughout the O.T. into the N.T., Judaism, Stephen's speech, and Meletinsky's "own-foreign" classification structures, we propose to go further by examining the Israel/Judah dichotomy in the Fourth Gospel.

2. Nicodemus and the Israel/Judah Dichotomy in the Fourth Gospel

Now it is relatively easy to show that the opposition between the terms "Israel" and "Jew" (or "Judean") is fundamental to the "own-foreign" classification structures of the Fourth Gospel. As S. E. Johnson observes, in the Fourth Gospel, "The true Israelites recognize Jesus as King of Israel, while 'the Jews' reject him as King of the Jews."[202] Thus the following rule seems to be valid for all the dramatis personae in the Fourth Gospel: Jesus' friends or "helpers"[203] are always described as Israelites and address Jesus as the "King of Israel" (e.g., Jn. 1:49; 12:13; cf. 1:31,49; 3:10), while his "opponents" are called "Jews" and are blamed for his death (19:11). The Romans also call him "King of the Jews" (18:33,39; 19:3,19), and the "chief priests of the Jews" use the title "King of the Jews" twice (19:21). Thus there is a polar opposition between "King of Israel" and "King of the Jews." There would appear to be one "exception" to this rule

--Nicodemus, who is described as *both* a "teacher of Israel" (3:10) *and* a "ruler of the Jews" (3:1).

But the rule holds true even for Nicodemus because unlike all the other characters who can be classified either as "helpers" or "opponents" of Jesus, *Nicodemus plays the role of a true mediator in the Fourth Gospel*. He first appears in Jn. 3:1ff. as an unbeliever, i.e., as one of Jesus' "own" who reject him. In Jn. 7:50-52, however, Nicodemus assumes a neutral or intermediary position between Jesus and his greatest "opponents," the chief priests and Pharisees, while in Jn. 19:39 he appears to have become one of Jesus' disciples. Indeed Nicodemus is the only character in the Fourth Gospel to assume all three of these positions in relationship to Jesus. Thus the attribution of both "Judean" and "Israelite" to him is quite logical. One could make a schema of these changes as follows:


Unbelieving Jew
Neutral Galilean
"Teacher of Israel"?
Nicodemus
"A ruler of the Jews" and "a teacher of Israel" Jn. 3:1ff.
"Are you from *Galilee* too?" Jn. 7:50-52
Jn. 19:39 with Joseph of Arimathea
[204]

Nicodemus is also proof that some of the Jews, even the rulers, do become members of Jesus' new family (cf. Jn. 12:42).

As we noted, Dekker also observed the same "King of Israel"/"King of the Jews" dichotomy in the Fourth Gospel, but he concluded that it was to be explained by the ignorance of certain "outsiders" (i.e., redactors) that "Jews" were Judeans; and therefore they made the error of calling "the Jews" Israelites![205] But to make such a statement is to ignore the topographical oppositions which duplicate these same oppositions. For example, John the Baptist appears and declares that he came "that he (Jesus) might be revealed to Israel" (Jn. 1:31), and, as will be seen, for this Gospel, unlike the Synoptics, John the Baptist works in northern Palestine, not Judea, e.g., at Bethany beyond the Jordan (Jn. 1:28) and Aenon near Salim (3:23). Moreover, it can be shown that "Israelites" in the Fourth Gospel, e.g., Nicodemus and Nathanael, are always identified with northern Palestine, or the ancient O.T. Kingdom of Israel. Thus both Nicodemus and Nathanael are called "Galileans" (Jn. 7:52; 21:2).

The term "Israel" in the first century, however, changed its meaning depending on who was speaking. First, Christians used the term "Israel" to differentiate themselves from members of Judaism (cf. Romans 9, esp. 9:6). Second, members of Judaism used the term "Israel" to include those (e.g., Galileans and Judeans) who worshipped at Jerusalem.[206] Third, Samaritans used the term "Israel" to refer to those who worshipped at Mt. Gerizim and belonged to the "House of Joseph."[207] To decide what the term "Israel" means in John it is necessary to test each of these oppositional systems in the context of the Fourth Gospel. To take one of the polar opposites of the term "Israel," for example, it is decisive that "In the Fourth Gospel, the term Jews always makes good sense meaning a non-Samaritan Palestinian."[208] Moreover, it is significant to note that there are absolutely no exceptions to this rule, including chapter 6.

"Israel" itself, however, remains something of a problem to be clarified. Nevertheless, the term "Israel" does stand in polar opposition to the term "Jews" in John. Moreover, this opposition is peculiar to John. For example, in John alone, during Jesus' final entry into Jerusalem, the people shout: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, even the King of Israel!" (Jn. 12:13). Buchanan writes:

> In the very place where Matthew and Mark called Jesus the son of David in his messianic entry, John, instead, called him "King of Israel." Whereas the synoptics and Paul (Rom. 1:3) confessed Jesus to be the son of David, John not only did not mention this Judaic designation, but he represented some of Jesus' opponents as taking for granted Jesus' Galilean origin and therefore held that he was not of the seed of David (7:41-42). Instead of the son of David, Jesus, in John, was called the son of Joseph (1:45; 6:42).[209]

On our return to the question of Israel in the Fourth Gospel, we understand its significance in connection with what John has to say about Jesus' "own."[210] For example, J. A. T. Robinson has noted: "The supreme purpose of the laying down of Jesus' life is that all Israel should be one flock under its one shepherd (x.15f.)."[211] He adds that Jesus' high priestly prayer in chapter 17 also has this same theme, and in words bearing a meaning exceeding his intention Robinson states: "The prayer 'that they may all be one' is, on Jesus' lips, not a prayer for broken

Christendom but for scattered and disrupted Judaism, viewed as the true Israel of God." He thinks this is especially apparent in the "twelve full baskets" symbolism of John 6:12f.[212]

Now there are a number of things which Robinson overlooks, the biggest of which is the very existence of the Samaritan community, the remnant of the ancient Kingdom of Israel. He also ignores the fact that John's "Good Shepherd" passage is based on Ezek. 34:22-24; 37:15-28, and Jeremiah 23:1-8; 31:1-10, all of which refer specifically (in their original contexts) to a hope for the reunification of the post-exilic Samaritans and Jews. Thus the meaning of the term "Israel" in John becomes clear. It refers to a reunification of all God's own people, i.e., the Galileans, Jews, and Samaritans; and the harvest will contain all twelve tribes (Jn. 6:13)!

J. D. Purvis provides an apt conclusion to this discussion of the Israel/Judah opposition in John. He writes:

> . . . what is one to make of the anti-Jewishness of an alleged Palestinian Gospel? This question may be clarified by viewing the negative attitude of the Fourth Gospel towards Judaeans in the context of its positive attitude toward Samaritans and Galileans. In this Gospel, Jesus is not rejected by Jews to be accepted by Gentiles, but accepted by Israelites (i.e., Samaritans and Galileans) to be rejected by Jews.[213]

3. The Samaritan Woman (Rachel?) and the Rachel/Leah Dichotomy

The figurative appearance of Rachel in John is shown by the symbolism present in John 4 where Jesus confronts the Samaritans directly. This chapter has received perhaps more study than any other comparable chapter of the Gospel. With respect to its relationship with the rest of the Gospel, a number of commentators have noted its contrast with the Nicodemus episode in chapter 3.[214] John Bligh remarks of it: "One of the enigmas of the fourth gospel is why the evangelist has chosen to lavish his skill on chapter 4 rather than on chapter 20."[215] From a chiastic analysis made by David Deeks in 1969,[216] it is easy to see why. Chapter 4 lies at the very heart of John's structure. Also, in the light of the oppositional system presented up to this point, it is most significant that Jesus is at Jacob's well. The passage is closely related to Gen. 29:1-21, where Jacob meets Rachel, the future matriarch of the Northern Tribes, for the first time. Moreover, there seems to be marriage symbolism in the fact that Jesus and the Samaritan woman drink water from the same vessel. As noted earlier, John 4 stands in sharp contrast to John 3 where Nicodemus at first refuses to believe in Jesus, and a Galilean scene where Jesus is welcomed because of his signs (4:45) but which contains criticism of "belief because of signs" (4:48). Both these sections stand in polar opposition to the acceptance of the Samaritan people who believe on the basis of Jesus' words alone. William Stevens writes:

> Our Lord's two days' ministry in Sychar is unique. In the whole history it has no parallel. Among the Samaritans of this city he found a large, intelligent faith, such as met him nowhere else. He seems to have wrought no miracles; he was not even challenged to produce "a sign out of heaven"; faith followed the spoken word.[217]

Nevertheless, commentators like M. de Jonge have continued to assert that the Samaritans could not have been "insiders" in the Johannine community.[218] However, the question arises: If the Samaritans, who believed in Jesus only on the basis of his word, do not become a part of his flock, who does? Since he is rejected by the Judeans who are "his own," what about the Galileans, or more precisely the Galilean pilgrims, who appear in John?

4. The Galilean Crowds in John's Gospel as Israelites

Concerning the "crowds" (ὄχλος) in the Fourth Gospel, Dekker has noted that they never use forms of address or salutations such as "Rabbi," "Lord," etc., when addressing Jesus. John 6, however, is an exception (6:25,34), and it is also in that chapter that the disciples address Jesus without a salutation (6:7,9). The remaining passages conforming to Dekker's rule are Jn. 1:49; 21:15ff.,20,21; 13:6,25,36; 14:5,8,22; 20:25. Moreover, the term ὄχλος is never used for the Samaritans.[219] However, it is interesting that the term "crowds" seems to mean "the Am 'ha-Areṣ" in John (cf. Jn. 7:49 where they are described as those who are ignorant of the Law). Concerning the term "Am 'ha-Areṣ," Meyer notes that in the pre-exilic period it referred to the "wealthy Jewish nobility," but in the post-exilic period, "it denotes the distinction between the [Jerusalem] temple community, decisively controlled by the returned exiles, and the Samaritans."[220]

Now throughout the Fourth Gospel the allegiances of the Judean and Galilean crowds are presented as constantly divided towards Jesus (Jn. 7:43; 9:16; 10:19). Furthermore, as Dekker observes, depending on whether they accept or reject Jesus they become either "Jews" or "the crowd." Thus there is an implicit logic in the identification of "the crowds" in John which can be presented as a structural schema. If the Judeans and Galileans believe in Jesus, they belong to him and become "the crowd" (Jn. 12:9-18). However, if "the crowd" becomes skeptical of Jesus they become "Jews" (Jn. 6:22,24; cf. 6:41). This can be presented in the following schema:

the Jews (Jn. 11:19,31) ⇒ by belief[221] ⇒ the crowd (Jn. 11:42; cf. 11:45)

the crowd (Jn. 6:22,24) ⇒ by disbelief ⇒ the Jews (Jn. 6:41,52)

Thus some of the members of "the crowd" in John do belong to Jesus' new "children of God" family. But their position is unstable, and they may become "Jews" again. That is why Jesus does not trust them (Jn. 2:24). However, their action in John 7 is contrasted with the desertion of the masses described in Jn. 6:60f. It is "the crowds" who proclaim Jesus to be the "King of Israel" (Jn. 12:13; 12:29,34); and this is the last time they appear in the Gospel. After Jesus' triumphal entry it is only the Judeans who cry "crucify him" (Jn. 19:6-7,14-15, cf. v.21). And, as has been noted, it is the opponents of Jesus, i.e., Pilate, the soldiers, and the chief priests and Pharisees of the Jews (Jn. 19:21), who call Jesus, mockingly, the "King of the Jews."[222] Moreover, the fact that some of the Galilean pilgrims (or Am ha-'Ares) belong to Jesus explains why Jesus goes to Jerusalem only during the festivals, i.e., he must wait until the northern "Israelites" arrive until he goes to Judea. John 7 is especially interesting in this respect since there Jesus' "brothers" urge him to go to Jerusalem before the festival to "show yourself to the world" (7:4). And the narrator adds: "For even his brothers did not believe in him" (7:5).[223] Now this passage has been somewhat of a mystery to commentators because Jesus first refuses to go to the feast of Tabernacles, but then he goes secretly. Dekker interprets this to mean that Jesus had to wait until he could be protected by the "masses of pilgrims."[224]

From a structuralist point of view, however, it is clear what is happening here. Jesus is being urged to fall into a trap which all true heroes avoid.[225] But even more significantly, here his brothers, either wittingly or unwittingly, are tempting him to go to Judea openly. Thus his brothers do not belong to Jesus (cf. 7:5) since they are on the side of "the Jews."[226] Indeed Jn. 7:11 seems to say that "the Jews" were secretly lying in wait for him. In Jn. 7:1-10, therefore, Jesus defeats his opponents at their own game.

However, the Galilean pilgrims still stand in marked contrast to the Samaritans. Unlike the Samaritans, they believe in Jesus because of his signs (Jn. 2:23; 4:48; 6:2; 7:31). Still, they are not unified in their belief, i.e., some believe and become members of Jesus' flock, while others reject Jesus (Jn. 11:45-46; 17:8). The Samaritans remain the only group in the Fourth Gospel of whom it is not said that they were divided upon hearing Jesus' or his representative's (i.e., the Samaritan woman's) word (Jn. 4:39-42). If there was any division among them, it is not stated. Indeed, they are the only group with whom Jesus himself is specifically identified in his opposition to "the Jews" and Galileans (Jn. 8:48).

5. The Hero vs. the Villains and the Samaritan/Jewish Dichotomy in John's Gospel

In John Macdonald's words, "the most striking example of an evangelist's attitude toward the Samaritans is to be found in John's almost astonishing 'omission' in 8:48." There the Jews in dispute with Jesus say, "'Are we not right in saying that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?' and Jesus' reply is, 'I have not a demon.' Why did the evangelist not include a denial by Jesus that he was a Samaritan?"[227] Moreover, it is significant that this statement immediately follows the most vehement anti-Judean rhetoric in the Fourth Gospel. This sequence begins at 8:31 by identification of these "Jews" as those "who had believed in him" (8:31). There ensues a savage attack by Jesus on "the Jews'" claim to be "descendants of Abraham" (8:37). He accuses them of being murderers, sons of the devil, and also liars, because their father, the devil, is the "father of lies" (8:44).

Now this attitude towards the Jews is identical to that of the Samaritans towards the same group. Indeed from a Samaritan viewpoint, the Jews are described in these very same terms. As John Bowman notes:

> The Samaritan Fall story does not mention the seduction of Eve by Belial, but the sons of Cain are called the sons of Belial. Jesus in John viii.44 says that his Jewish opponents were of their father the Devil, and it is because they are of his nature that they cannot accept the truth which Jesus tells. Now this is an amazing statement by a Jew about Jewish teachers. Those to whom it was addressed would not have regarded it possible for a Jew to have said that of other Jews.[228]

Bowman continues by noting that the retort of "the Jews," "We were not born of fornication," cannot be a reference to Jesus' virgin birth because of Jn. 6:42 (the Jews know Jesus' mother and father) and the second part of the sentence above, "We have one Father even God" (8:41). "Even more tendentious," in Bowman's opinion, are the attempts by some scholars to read the charge of Jesus' being a Samaritan and "born of fornication" in the light of 2 Kgs. 17, where the Samaritans are considered illegitimate, as an allusion to Jesus' virgin birth. Rather what is happening in this passage is that Jesus is merely expressing the common Samaritan viewpoint towards the Jews.[229]

Moreover, perhaps the only pre-Johannine document[230] which can explain Jesus' son of the devil--murderers (i.e., Cain)--liars connections is Samaritan. To prove this, it is only necessary to note a significant difference between the SP and MT texts on Gen. 3:2. There the MT reads אל הנחש = "to the serpent," while the SP reads אל הכחש = "to the liar!" B. Pick comments:

> The reading of הכחש instead of הנחש . . . is only found in Walton's Polyglot, while six other MSS offer the reading הנחש . In support of our reading, which personifies the serpent, we may perhaps say that later Hebrew writers also speak of this serpent as the Satan [e.g., the Wisdom of Solomon 2:23,24]. . . . Satan is frequently called the first serpent, הנחש הקדמון , and the notion conveyed by the Samaritan occurs repeatedly in the New Testament; see John vii.xx; Rev. xii.9; xx.2.[231]

Indeed, further examination of the opposition between Jesus and "the Jews" shows that it is precisely identical to that expressed by the Samaritans towards the same group. The reason why this has not been realized before is that scholars have consistently used views of the Samaritans originating from "the Jews." This can perhaps be demonstrated by looking at a Samaritan view of the conflict between Jesus and the Jews. This view is especially amazing since the founder of Christianity was himself a Jew!

The earliest extant source (ca. mid-4th cen. A.D.?)[232] of an official Samaritan view of Jesus (Samaritan Chronicle II) reads as follows:

> (81) Now Jesus the Nazarene did not consult the community of the Samaritan Israelites at any time in his life. (82) He did not stand in their way, nor did they stand in his. (83) They did not impose upon him, nor he on them in any way. (84) He was, however, the subject of vengeance on the part of his own people, his own community, from whom he rose, that is, the Judaist community. (85) They hated him wholeheartedly, so much so that they were the cause of his execution, his crucifixion.[233]

This same chronicle also adds these comments (note the emphasis upon Jesus as the Son of Joseph!): " . . . Jesus the Son of Joseph the Nazarene, concerning whom the Judaist community assert that he was the son of Joseph the carpenter and that this Joseph lay with Jesus' mother Mary before he took her for his wife" (§ 2). It continues: "The Judaists hated him very much, and they sought him in every place, in every corner, with a view to executing him." To which A. J. B. Higgins adds these notes: "Judaist, i.e., a follower of Judaism, not of the Samaritan religion; the term Judaist has no distinctively ethnic reference"; and "The Judaist religious community (Heb. *'ēdâh*) is hostile to Jesus; *cf. the use of the term 'the Jews' in the Fourth Gospel*."[234]

One should not make too much of this chronicle which is really impossible to date and which is only available in a medieval manuscript (ca. 1616 A.D., the John Rylands Library MS 1142 in the Moses Gaster Collection). However, it is significant to the extent that the attitude in it towards "the Jews" is virtually identical to that expressed in the Fourth Gospel. Moreover, it is all the more remarkable considering the suffering the Samaritans endured from the hands of Christians, Christian Emperors, e.g., Justinian I, and also from the Crusaders.[235] In fact, Higgins believes he can see in this chronicle "an implied rebuttal of Jewish slanders" about Jesus' birth.[236] Likewise, its similarity to the Fourth Gospel becomes all the more mysterious when it is added that "nowhere in early Samaritan literature do we find a direct quotation from John, though ideas, titles and phrases are echoed."[237] Likewise, in this chronicle, even Jesus' Galilean disciples are called "Judaists"![238]

The fact that this view of Jesus and the Jews has remained the same until the present is seen in this statement by the Samaritan High Priest in 1907:

> This Jesus never molested the Samaritans, all the days of his life; neither were the Samaritans concerned with him or molested him. But he was a plague to his relatives and his co-religionists, from whom he sprang. These are the sect of the Jews who hated him with a bitter hatred.[239]

6. Miscellaneous Relationships between Characters in John's Gospel and the Samaritans

There are a number of miscellaneous points of agreement to be noted between various characters in the Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans. They concern two who appear explicitly in the Gospel: John the Baptist and Nathanael; and two which appear implicitly: Dositheus and Simon Magus.

a. John the Baptist and Nathanael

First, there is John the Baptist. Perhaps the first scholar to argue that the Fourth Gospel's milieu contained disciples of John the Baptist was W. Baldensperger.[240] Many scholars since have agreed with his conclusion.[241] The problem then becomes that of determining where and with whom the Baptist sect was located. E. Stauffer and John Bowman have noted the Baptist's Zadokite relationships,[242] while J. A. T. Robinson, among others, has attempted to argue that the Baptist was an Essene connected with the Qumran community.[243] Moreover, there are some scholars who have noted the Baptist's relationship with Samaria.[244] Indeed, Georges Ory has even attempted to identify the Baptist in John as the Samaritan heresiarch, Dositheus.[245] Although Ory's argument is considered by many to be too far-fetched, it is remarkable that the Pseudo-Clementines place the Baptist and his disciples in Samaria with Dositheus (Hom. II,23,24; Recog. II,8), and the church historian Theodoret (393-457 A.D.) records the only extant tradition about the Baptist's burial place by placing it in the city of Samaria (H.E. III,3 [B.St.V,7], P.G. 82, col. 1092c).[246]

All this, as will be seen, would agree with the Fourth Gospel, which also places the Baptist in Samaria at "Aenon near Salim" (3:23) and "Bethany beyond the Jordan" (1:28). But what is perhaps most interesting is the possible implication in John's Gospel that Jesus was a disciple of John the Baptist. According to M. E. Boismard, this is implied in Jn. 1:30,38; cf. 3:26,30 where the expression "to go behind someone" (e.g., Jn. 1:30) appears, which Boismard interprets as a technical expression indicating the position of a disciple towards his master. Moreover, a transformation of who is the disciple of whom seems to take place in the Baptist's statement: "He must increase, I decrease" (3:30).[247]

In the light of this observation by Boismard, the Samaritan Chronicle II's view of the relationship between the Baptist and

Jesus becomes somewhat more viable:

> (86) The Judaists were also the cause of the execution of John the disciple of Jesus by getting him to make King Herod disturbed over an attractive young woman. (87) They made a present of her to King Herod with adultery in mind, so that when he saw her King Herod would desire her and love her passionately. (88) Now she requested from him John's head and because his passion for her had captivated his whole heart this affair troubled him in no way, but (89) he speedily issued orders that John should be summoned to the city of Samaria. (90) He decapitated him there, for at that time King Herod was in that city.
>
> . . . .
>
> (96) From that time onwards the ordinance of baptism has been carried on by the community of the Nazarene, but the Judaist community has rejected it from the time that Jesus the Nazarene was baptized by him right up to the present time.[248]

Second, there is Nathanael, who is described by Jesus as "an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile," (1:47), which apparently seems to be a comparative reference to him and Jacob.[249] The Gospel's epilogue says of him that he came from "Cana in Galilee" (21:2), but if this were true, it seems strange that everything known about him contains Samaritan connotations. For example, Philip, using Samaritan Christology, calls him to "follow Jesus" as the one "of whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph" (1:45). (It should be noted that Samaritans often use the term "the prophets" to refer to the patriarchs.) Nathanael then calls Jesus the "Son of God" and the "King of Israel" (1:49). There next follows an allusion by Jesus to Jacob's struggle with the angel at Bethel (Gen. 28:11-19), and as will be seen, Bethel is identified by the Samaritans, with good justification, as Mt. Gerizim.[250]

Now scholars have constantly had difficulty identifying Nathanael in the Fourth Gospel. Some have considered him to be the Apostle Paul.[251] Others have attempted to equate him with Bartholomew in the Synoptics, but this suggestion has been effectively refuted.[252] However, there is one suggestion which has not been considered. According to Samaritan tradition the author of their Targum, which according to them was composed in the first century B.C., was named Nathanael.[253] Although this tradition is questioned by many scholars, if it were true it would explain what many scholars see as a reference to the practice of scribes working under fig trees (Jn. 1:48).[254]

In addition, the fact that the names "Nathanael" (Hebrew) and "Dositheus" (Greek) are variant forms of the same name (note also these Jewish forms of Dositheus--Jonathan, Dosetai, Dosa, and Dosai, as well as the Greek--Theodotus and Theodotian),[255] also gives many other possibilities, among whom is the Samaritan heresiarch, Dositheus, first mentioned perhaps by Josephus (Ant. xiii,3,4).[256] Moreover, his sect is known to have practiced baptism, and, as was noted earlier, is connected by the Pseudo-Clementines with John the Baptist. As Edmund Leach noted, however, it would make no difference if Nathanael were really Dositheus or not, structurally speaking, because regardless of what the author originally intended, Samaritan and Jewish readers would make the connection.[257] In any case, although the name "Nathanael" was very common in the N.T. era, perhaps too common for any viable argument to be made concerning his precise identification, this name was an especially favorite name among the Samaritans, one borne by a number of their High Priests.[258] Also, there are passages in the Fourth Gospel which seem to reflect a conflict between the Johannine community and the Dosithean and Simonian sects.

b. Dositheus and Simon Magus in John's Gospel

Little is known about the biographies of these two, except that Dositheus was from Shechem and Simon Magus from Gitta, both in Samaria. Now M. H. Shepherd, Jr., has asserted that John's "Good Shepherd" discourse (Jn. 10:1-30) may reflect the presence of false, heretical teachers among the Johannine community (cf. Irenaeus, _Adv. Haer._ III,4,1 where "thieves and robbers" = heretical teachers).[259] Moreover, J. D. Purvis thinks that he can see throughout the Gospel hints referring to a heresiarch, "leader of a baptizing sect, a wonder-worker, and someone who claimed that he was a divine being." Both Christian and Samaritan traditions would suggest three Magus figures as possibilities: Simon, Meander, and Dositheus. Purvis prefers to consider him Dositheus, but "Acts 8:9-24 would suggest Simon."[260]

Admittedly this is only speculation but it is instructive in so far as it demonstrates how many peculiarities of John's Gospel can be explained if the Gospel had to contend with the Dositheans. There are six Johannine passages where Purvis sees the possibility of such a conflict. First, in Jn. 3:22-36 it is said that Jesus and his disciples are superior to the Baptist and his disciples. This, Purvis suggests, would emphasize "the interests of a Christian community desirous of stressing its superiority over the followers of John [the Baptist], but also vis-a-vis the claims of any other baptizing sect, especially in Samaria."[261] Second, there is Jn. 3:13,31: "He who comes from above . . . ," which "would have been particularly important in a polemic with a community which claimed its founder was a divine man" (cf. Acts 8:10; Origen, Contra Celsum I, 57; Justin, Apol. I, 26; Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I, 23,5).[262] Third, there is Jn. 4:17-18 where the five husbands of the woman have often been compared with the five gods of the Samaritans in Josephus (Ant. IX,14,3; cf. Justin, Apol. I,26). Perhaps, according to Purvis, her present husband was Dositheus.[263] Fourth, in Jn. 8:48-49 the relationship of the two charges, demon-possession and being a Samaritan, may be seen as a Jewish view of the Samaritan magi. R. H. Strachan has also interpreted this passage as a disclaimer by Jesus of his being a "false prophet of the Dositheus type."[264] Fifth, Jn. 11:26-27 may also reflect anti-Dositheanism by demonstrating "the superiority of Jesus over the Samaritan magi" (cf. Justin, Apol. I, 26; Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I,23,5; Origen, Commen. on Jn. XIII,27 [P.G. 14, col. 4461]), i.e., Jesus not only gives eternal life but he can raise a man dead for four days.[265] Sixth, and finally, there are the "signs." The Samaritan prophets were primarily considered to be magicians (Acts 8:9-11). Thus although Jesus, like the Samaritan magi, performs signs, he does not do them for his own glory but to glorify his Father. Purvis concludes: "In so doing he not only verified his contention that he had come from God, but demonstrated his true and unique claim to that status over any pretender or false-prophet, Samaritan or other."[266]

In conclusion, it can be added that although there have been all sorts of speculations concerning the "ego eimi" statements by Jesus (e.g., Jn. 10:7-14), the best examples by messianic pretenders come from the Samaritan magi.[267] According to Acts 8:9, Simon Magus seems to have used such statements saying, "I am the great power" (cf. Origen, Contra Celsum VII,8f.). Moreover, it is only with them that such statements are combined, as they are in John, with the "prophet like Moses" Christology (cf. Origen, Contra Celsum I, 57; the Samaritan Targum on Deut. 5:28 and Ex. 33:21; Memar Marqah IV,12).[268]

D. A Structural Comparison of Stephen's and John's Attitudes towards the Jews

Assuming that the argument presented earlier concerning Stephen's speech is valid, it would be almost irrefutable evidence that the Johannine Circle (using Cullmann's term) held an attitude toward "the Jews" identical to that of the Samaritans, if it could be shown that the oppositional systems present in Stephen's speech were the same as those in the Fourth Gospel.[269]

A beginning can be made by noting that the Fourth Gospel, structurally speaking, lies between two works written by the same author, viz. the Gospel of Luke and the book of Acts. Now this alone, i.e., its position in the canon, would assert that there must be some relationship between Luke and the Fourth Gospel. Indeed scholars have long asserted that the books of Luke and Acts have many points of agreement with the Fourth Gospel.[270] M. E. Boismard has even gone so far as to argue that Luke himself was the final redactor of the Fourth Gospel.[271]

Even more significant, however, is the fact that all three works contain a very similar opposition to "the Jews." As Jack Epstein has remarked, of all the books in the New Testament that explicitly refer to the Jews, "the most numerous citations are in the Gospel of Saint John and the Acts of the Apostles. The number of anti-Jewish references in these two books is comparatively large and many of them are marked by severe animosity."[272] As P. Parker notes, while Mark does not explicitly blame τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους for Jesus' tragedy, Acts and John do [Luke does not] (Jn. 19:11; cf. Acts 10:39; 2:23; 3:12-15; 4:10f.,27; 5:30; 7:51f.; 13:27-29; 17:5f.).[273] Also, Acts 9:23 and 12:3 refer to "the Jews" in terms very similar to the opposition expressed in John.

On the other hand, concerning the Samaritans, Luke-Acts and John are the only N.T. books which speak of them in favorable terms, in contrast to Mark's failure to mention them at all and Matthew's prohibition (Mtt. 10:5). Parker remarks:

> Both [Gospels of Lk. and Jn.] show particular concern for Samaria (John iv.4-43; Luke ix.51ff.; x.29-37; xvii.11-19; Acts viii.4-25). Luke, like John, recalls the antagonisms between Jews and Samaritans (Luke

ix.53) and indicates that some Samaritans accepted Jesus (ix.56; x.5ff.,29ff.). The saying at Luke x.2 seems, like John iv.35, to have been spoken in Samaria; contrast Matt. ix.37. Indeed, for all that Luke asserts to the contrary, the whole of ix.52-xii.30 might have taken place in Samaria.[274]

1. Stephen's Speech and the Fourth Gospel

Thus it would not be surprising to find some agreements between Stephen's speech and John's Gospel. However, this does not prepare one for the realization that those elements peculiar (i.e., non-Lukan) to Stephen's speech are also peculiar to John. To show that they are it is only necessary to note the points of agreement between them as listed by R. M. Grant:

1. In Acts 7:7-8--"Circumcision was from the patriarchs not Moses" (cf. Jn. 7:22).
2. In Acts 7:32--"Moses did not 'know' God" (cf. Jn. 1:18--no one, including Moses has ever seen God).
3. In Acts 7:37--the prophet like Moses in Deut. 18:15,18 is mentioned (cf. Jn. 6:14--Jesus is "the prophet" of Deut. 18:15).
4. In Acts 7:48--God does not dwell in buildings made by human hands or the temple (cf. Jn. 4:21--Jesus' body is God's true temple not Jerusalem).
5. In Acts 7:51-53--the Jews have always resisted the Holy Spirit, killed the prophets, received but did not keep the Law (cf. Jn. 7:13-7:19).[275]

To these points, Scobie adds a list of his own:

1. Both minimize futurist eschatology and emphasize realized eschatology.
2. Both have an absence of Davidic Christology.
3. Both see Jesus as one sent by God.
4. Both emphasize Jesus' ascension and exaltation.
5. Both have the theme of heavenly intercession.
6. Both are interested in "the true worship of God."
7. Both wish to see the eschatological reunion of God's people following Ezek. 37. [This is a matter of degree and therefore not in conflict with no. 1 above.]

8. Both have a background of Northern Israelite Sectarianism.
9. Both refer to Synagogal persecution by the Jews.
10. Both reject Temple worship.
11. Both are interested in signs.
12. Both use a Son of Man Christology.[276]

2. Agreements between Stephen and John about the Jews

The agreements between Stephen and John are especially noteworthy with respect to "the Jews." For example, both Stephen and John call "the Jews" murderers (Acts 7:52; cf. Jn. 8:44). Moreover, as Freed observes, Stephen's use of "our father," "our fathers," and "our race" (Acts 7:12,19,39,45), in contrast to "your fathers" (Acts 7:51,52) is almost identical to the Samaritan woman's (Jn. 4:12,20), the people's (Jn. 6:31), the Jews' (8:39,53), and Jesus' (Jn. 6:49; 8:38,41,56; cf. 8:17; 10:34; 15:25) use in John.[277] Finally, Purvis has concluded:

> What is especially significant in this is Stephen's condemnation of the Jewish nation from the time of Solomon on as a people who had resisted the Holy Spirit. The offense of Solomon had been in building a temple, "a house made with hands," unlike the tabernacle which Moses had built after a divine pattern, and which Joshua brought into the land. "Our fathers," i.e., the Israelite nation as a whole, had this tabernacle from Moses in the wilderness and under Joshua in Canaan. But Solomon erred in building a temple, and the nation which followed him was a stiff-necked people resisting God's spirit--"As your fathers did, so do you" (viii 51). We see here virtually the same distinction between Israel ("our fathers") and Judah ("your fathers") as has been noted in John's Gospel. A distinction is made between the faithful Israel and the unfaithful Jews.[278]

3. Stephen, the Fourth Gospel, and the Synagogue

What is perhaps most remarkably identical in the tradition about Stephen's speech and John is the fact that for both of them the Jewish synagogue is a place of danger for Christians. Moreover, John 6:59-67 even seems to be directly reminiscent of Stephen's situation. Both Stephen and Jesus are in a synagogue among the Jews (Acts 6:9; Jn. 6:59). Both refer to the Son of Man and the Spirit (Acts 7:51,56; Jn. 6:62-63). In both cases an internal dispute arises among those who are disciples of Jesus (Acts 6:1; Jn. 6:64), a dispute resolved by some of Jesus' disciples leaving, except the Twelve (Acts 8:1; Jn. 6:66-68). Further, it is only in John's Gospel that "the Jews" attempt to stone Jesus, as Stephen was stoned (Jn. 8:59; 10:31; 11:8). Finally, it is hardly a coincidence that in both attempts to stone Jesus some reference to the Samaritans is made. The first attempt (Jn. 8:59) immediately follows the charge that Jesus is a Samaritan (8:48), and the second attempt (10:31) follows Jesus' "Good Shepherd" discourse, which, as has been seen, is based on Ezekiel's and Jeremiah's hopes for a reunification of Samaritans and Jews. The last reference to stoning in John is merely a reminder by the disciples of the earlier attempts (Jn. 11:8). In other words, in both Stephen's speech and John there is a sequence of events as follows: (1) being in a synagogue; (2) referring to the Samaritans; (3) being stoned.[279] This means that earlier attempts to interpret the significance of "being thrown out of the synagogue" (ἀποσυνάγωγος) need to be re-evaluated in terms of this relationship.

4. A Structural Comparison of Stephen and John's Gospel

As was noted earlier, a number of interpreters have seized upon the references to "expulsion from the synagogue" in John's Gospel (Jn. 9:22; 12:42; 16:2) as reflecting the Birkath ha-Minim synagogal ban enacted by "the Jews" at the Jamnia Council after Jerusalem's destruction. Indeed, from this single term K. L. Carroll argued that since there was a lack of references to "expulsion from the synagogue" in the Synoptics the Fourth Gospel's usage must be based on "the late date at which the Fourth Gospel was produced and on the fact that the author, whoever he may have been, was a gentile."[280]

However, Leon Morris notes that the word "synagogue" occurs only three times in John as opposed to nine times in Mtt., eight in Mk., fifteen in Lk., and nineteen in Acts. From this Morris concludes, "There is no interest in the synagogue as such to be discerned anywhere in this Gospel. By contrast, to John the Temple is important."[281] Moreover, as was stated earlier, the problem that K. L. Carroll, J. L. Martyn et al. have is the very last reference (Jn. 16:2), where being thrown out of the synagogue and being killed are connected. But this passage becomes quite understandable in the light of Acts' account of Stephen's martyrdom.

Stephen is performing "great wonders and signs" when "some of those who belonged to the synagogue" (Acts 6:9) "could not withstand the wisdom and the Spirit with which he spoke" (6:10). "Then they secretly instigated men" (6:11). "They stirred up the people and the elders and the scribes, and they came upon him and seized him" (6:12), clearly throwing him out of the synagogue. They took him to the council where he spoke again and was taken out and stoned (7:54-58). But as Leon Morris noted, it is the Jerusalem Temple which assumes a greater importance than the synagogue; and it is that subject and its relation to Stephen and John which will be discussed next.

a. The Tabernacle/Temple Opposition in Stephen and John's Gospel

It is with respect to the question of the Tabernacle and Temple, or a "nomadic God theology" vs. a "sedentary God theology," that the closest agreements between Stephen and John can be seen. As Cullmann notes, " . . . in the Fourth Gospel, the idea that the temple is abolished, or rather replaced, is very much in the foreground and can be followed throughout the book." He continues, "And, above all, it assumes the form in which we meet it exactly in the speech of Stephen; the Divine presence is not bound to the temple."[282]

In particular, the Shekinah, which in the theology of the "P school" had been static and bound forever to the Temple, and the word which was received in the old Tent of Meeting (or

Tabernacle) of the "E school," are both now personified in Jesus himself. Cullmann comments that Jesus' response to the Samaritan woman (Jn. 4:21) " . . . *is absolutely in line with Stephen's speech in Acts 7. It could even have been part of it. It is in any case certain that this is exactly what the Hellenist missionaries who went to Samaria must have preached*."[283]

However, what Cullmann fails to add is that this theology was not new. Indeed it goes back to the very beginnings of the creation of Israel. Moreover, it is a *peculiarly* Samaritan theology connected with the E tradition's theology of the Tabernacle.[284] Also, it is often forgotten by scholars that when Jesus and the Samaritan woman met, there was no temple on Mt. Gerizim because it had already been destroyed by John Hyrcanus, an event which no doubt made them emphasize this nomadic theology all the more.[285]

There are a number of passages in John other than chapter 4 where this "nomadic theology" can be seen. For example, it may be seen in Jn. 8:14 which seems to be an allusion to "the ark of testimony" (Ex. 25:16) and the old "tent of meeting" (Ex. 27:21). Likewise, Jn. 10:7 is reminiscent of "the door" of the tent where Yahweh speaks to his people (Ex. 29:42-43).

At the very beginning of the Fourth Gospel, it is said that Jesus "tabernacled" (ἐσκήνωσεν) among his believers (1:14); and there are attacks upon the Jerusalem temple throughout the text. For John alone the temple is cleansed at the very beginning of Jesus' ministry (2:13-21) and his own body becomes the ναός, i.e., the universal place of worship (2:19-21).[286] And in both Revelation and John the σκηνή and ναός are closely connected.[287] Likewise, the (fourth century A.D.?) Samaritan Book of Common Prayer states that one of the major duties of the Taheb when he returns will be to "purify the sacred places."[288] Josephus (Ant. XVIII,4,1) is witness to the early belief that the Taheb would find the lost Tabernacle and its vessels for the Samaritans. Note that this is present in the statement of the Samaritan woman in Jn. 4:25: "He will show us all things." According to the Shira Yetima hymn in the Samaritan Liturgy for the Day of Atonement, it is said that the Taheb's appearance will be heralded by the appearance of his star (cf. Ignatius, Epistle to the Ephesians, chap. XIX). He will grow in grace with God and Man and will have prophetic powers (cf. Jn. 4:19,39). Furthermore, his function will be to recover or find the Tabernacle and the Ark which have been hidden since Eli moved them from Shechem to Shiloh and began the "Time of Divine Displeasure." When this is done, the "Time of Divine Favor" will begin again as it existed during the Exodus.[289]

M. F. Collins has studied this Samaritan tradition of the restoration of the Tabernacle and its vessels. She states that these "vessels" were believed to be the anointing oil (Ex. 30:31), incense (Ex. 30:35), the ark (Ex. 30:6; 1 Sam. 6:8; 2 Chron. 35:3), the jar of manna (Ex. 16:33-34), and Aaron's staff (Num. 17:8-10). According to Jewish tradition, it is Jeremiah or Baruch instead of Moses who hid these vessels originally (see 2 Macc. 1:19; 2 Macc. 2:1,4-8; Baruch 1:8-10; Apocalypse of Baruch [= 2 Baruch] 6:7-10; 80:2). And instead of the Taheb it will be Elijah who will restore them again (Mekhil. Beshallah Wayassa, 5).[290]

Thus it becomes highly significant that of all the N.T. books the only reference to the Feast of Tebernacles, which epitomized more than any other the ancient nomadic theology of the D and E traditions, occurs in Jn. 7:2! Moreover, the only references to the older "Tent of Meeting" appear in Acts 7:43-44, (possibly, but unlikely in 2 Cor. 5:1,4), Heb. 8:2,5; 9:2,3,6,8, 11,21; 13:10, and Rev. 15:5. This only confirms the importance of the Tabernacle for Stephen's speech, the Fourth Gospel, and the Book of Hebrews,[291] and adds further support for seeing a Samaritan context for all of them. As far as Revelation is concerned, it seems rather significant that the seer's vision of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 21-22) does not contain a new temple.

In addition, this "nomadic" Tabernacle theology seems to play a role in the constant movement of Jesus, as recorded in the Fourth Gospel, back and forth from Judea through Samaria to Galilee and Transjordan, etc. For John, Jesus' Father is in heaven (Jn. 3:13,27,31; 6:38,42). The Father is not on earth except in the mobile presence of His own Son, who is the living, nomadic Word. Thus there is in John a distinct emphasis upon the transcendence and manifestation of God as opposed to his constant presence at any one place. Parallel to this is an emphasis upon hearing God speak, instead of seeing him.

This latter point can be seen quite clearly in the structural opposition which exists between two dramatis personae who are healed by Jesus, i.e., the lame man (Jn. 5:1-18) and the blind man (Jn. 9:1-34). Unlike the blind man, the lame man can obviously see Jesus. Yet he does not know who healed him (5:13). It is nowhere stated that the lame man believed in Jesus. Indeed, he appears to collaborate with Jesus' enemies, since after learning who healed him, he voluntarily reports to "the Jews" (5:15). In contrast, the blind man obviously cannot see Jesus, at least at the beginning, but he can hear his voice. He does know who healed him (9:11), but he does not know where Jesus is (9:12). Besides, unlike the lame man, the blind man does believe that Jesus is a prophet (9:17), that he is from God (9:33), and that he is the Son of Man (9:35-38). Furthermore, even the blind man's parents believe in Jesus, but they are afraid to say so lest they be thrown out of the synagogue (9:22). Even more significantly, both the blind man and his parents, unlike the lame man, do not collaborate with "the Jews" (9:23,27). Thus it is clear that there is a contrast here between hearing and seeing Jesus. Although faith may be obtained by seeing Jesus' signs (14:11), those who only hear yet believe possess a greater faith (20:29).

Cullmann summarizes John's tabernacle theology quite well when he writes:

> The Divine glory, in Hebrew shekinah, previously limited to the temple is visible in Jesus Christ. Here is a saying just as blasphemous for Jewish ears as that which Stephen said. For every Jew the shekinah, the Divine glory,

> is limited to the temple. But from now on it is separated from the temple, because from now on it is bound to the Logos become flesh. We have seen His glory (the glory of God)--this is the idea which recurs throughout the Gospel. . . . God, whom no one can see has become visible. His shekinah can be contemplated in Jesus. He has established His tabernacle among us, says the Johannine prologue. . . . It is certain that the author . . . chose this verb deliberately, because of the idea of the tabernacle, σκηνή , which as we have seen played such a great role in the polemic of the Hellenists. The tabernacle is legitimate, because it is not limited to any one place.[292]

b. The Taheb/Davidic Messiah in Stephen and John's Gospel

Because of W. A. Meeks' masterful study of Jesus as the Samaritan Prophet-King in John,[293] and because the question of the Samaritan Taheb (Deut. 18:15-18) in John has been exhaustively treated by many others,[294] it seems superfluous to cover the same territory. Indeed, since Meeks' work the majority of scholars have agreed that John's Christology is based on messianic concepts arising from Deut. 18:15,18. However, Meeks has been criticized for restricting "his 'Mosaic messianism' unwarrantedly to a Samaritan influence despite the fact that the mystique surrounding Moses was common to all Jewish circles in N.T. times."[295] However, the "Jewish circles" referred to are invariably Qumran, and as was noted earlier, it is apparent that they too were closely connected to the Samaritans. Thus it all depends upon how broadly one wishes to define "Judaism." In any case, it is fairly certain, as Bultmann observes, that Pharisaic or Rabbinic Judaism never utilized a Moses-like prophet messiah.[296] Others have criticized Meeks'

Samaritan sources as being too late in date to be relevant. But against this, Justin, Origen, Philo, and Josephus all attest that the Samaritan Taheb (Deut. 18:15,18) connection was very early (Justin, I Apol., 53; Origen, Contra Celsum, I,57; Philo, De Monarchia, 7; Spec. Leg. I,64-65; Josephus, Ant. XX,5,1; 8,6).

More promising than these criticisms have been the research efforts by A. D. Crown who has been able to discern two Taheb conceptions among the Samaritans, one which associated the Taheb with Joshua and another which associated him with Moses, the former being the Dosithean and the latter being the more orthodox Samaritan.[297] Unfortunately, since most of the primary documents for this research remain unpublished in the John Rylands Library, outsiders will have to wait for more to come from Dr. Crown. However, one Samaritan eschatological messianic figure seems to appear in John's Gospel which has not been discussed in detail, the Messiah ben Joseph, or Messiah ben Ephraim.[298]

1) The Messiah ben Ephraim in John's Gospel

Twice in the Fourth Gospel Jesus is called the "Son of Joseph" (1:45; 6:42). What makes this title especially interesting is what twentieth-century Samaritans say about themselves and their Taheb. In 1906, for example, the Samaritan High Priest stated that the Samaritans considered themselves to be "the original Hebrews, descendants of Joseph, except their priests, who are of the tribe of Levi." Moreover, as the "true Israelites," "the origin of this people is of the tribe of our Lord Joseph (upon whom be peace), who are descendants of Ephraim and Manasseh"; cf. Josephus (*Ant.* xi,8,6).[299]

Two years later the same High Priest added, concerning the Samaritan Taheb: "There is nothing in prophecy to say whether he will be of the priestly line or not. Some of our learned men say that he will be a priest. Others say that he will be of the children of Joseph, and 'like unto his brethren.' My own private opinion is that he will be of the children of Joseph."[300]

The earliest Samaritan Chronicle (ca. 4th cen. A.D.?) on Jesus (Samaritan Chronicle II) is also very interesting in the way it emphasizes Jesus as "the Son of Joseph." Jesus is called "Jesus the Son of Joseph" three times in the first two sections (§§ 1,2.15). Also, according to the same chronicler, Jesus is a "Nazarene" (§§2,3,18), but he is born in Bethlehem in Judea (§ 17). It was at Nazareth that he gathered together his disciples (§ 19).[301]

Unfortunately, the detailed traditions about the Messiah ben Joseph (משיה בן יוסף), or Messiah ben Ephraim, are Jewish and the primary sources are apparently late in date. None of the rabbinic traditions alone gives all the traditions, but taken together the following picture appears. The Messiah ben Joseph is to be an earthly *warrior-messiah* (sometimes called the *mesiah milhamah* by the Rabbis) from the *"House of Joseph" or Ephraim* who first appears in *upper Galilee*. His function is to gather together and lead home *the ten lost northern tribes*. The purpose of this is for him to lead them into battle against Gog and Magog, or sometimes Armilus (= Romulus = Rome). The Messiah ben Joseph dies or is killed. After his death, the Davidic messiah will appear.[302]

The primary sources dealing with this messiah are as follows: T. B. Sukkah 52a (perhaps now the oldest and most comprehensive); Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Ex. 40:12; Targum on Song of Solomon 4:5, 7:4; Jerusalem Targum (the so-called "Fragment Targum") on Num. 11:23; Pesikta Zutarta 58a; Jellinek, Beth ha-Midrasch III, 141-143; Third Enoch (the rabbinic source) § 45, 5; and perhaps some MSS of the Testament of Benjamin 3:8. In 1961 Markus Barth[303] stated that the last reference was perhaps the earliest (if dated ca. 225-100 B.C.), and he cited an article by Jeremias in Kittel's TWNT for support.[304] But this footnote has been "dropped" in the English translation "on textual grounds"![305]

Because this messiah is from Joseph and/or Ephraim, a number of scholars have argued that he was originally connected with the Samaritan Taheb and was later adopted by the Jews.[306] And according to Eulogius (in Photius, Geneva 1591 ed., Bibliotheca, col. 883) it is said that the Samaritan Taheb was believed to be Joshua of the "House of Joseph."[307] If this tradition is reliable, it would explain much. Kippenberg, however, prefers to distinguish four separate Samaritan messiah-like figures: one, the "restorer of the Tabernacle";[308] two, Joseph "the King";[309] three, the Taheb;[310] and four, the prophet like Moses (cf. Josephus, Ant.

xx,97,169; War II, 261)[311]--which became syncretized together in Samaritan thought, although they were originally separated. Kippenberg's second messiah-like figure, Joseph the King, is described by him as an anti-priestly or "prototype secular leader." Kippenberg states that he was connected with the tradition of Joseph's grave near Mt. Gerizim, which is mentioned by John 4:5. John Bowman, however, argues that the "Messiah ben Joseph" was originally not Samaritan, but originated from Saul, who was "the first Anointed of the Lord," a "Benjaminite," and thus a "Messiah ben Joseph, and a warrior Messiah who died. . . ."[312] It is clear that much more research needs to be done on this subject before we can make a decision. It is possible that included in our new dichotomies is an additional division between Saul and David which may also eventually be traced back to the Rachel/Leah tribal dichotomies.

But perhaps the most interesting thing about the Messiah ben Joseph's connection with Samaria, and also that which has been the most neglected, concerns the Gog and Magog legend with whom this messiah is linked. The names Gog and Magog appear in the Bible only in Ezek. 38-39, where Gog is the prince of the land of Magog, and Rev. 20:8-9, where both names are personified as hosts of Satan. The earliest Jewish references to Gog and Magog are the following: S. Nu. 76 on 10:9; M. Ex. 16:30[4]; Pesikt. 181b-182a; and the Sibylline Oracles, III, 319-322; 512.[313] Their appearance in Revelation suggests a connection with the anti-Christ myth; and this seems to be confirmed by Gog's appearance as an eschatological "evil prince" in the Samaritan Asatir (mid-2nd cen. B.C.?), chap. XII, vv. 11, (13), 16. Verse 11 of this source reads: "A prince will arise (Gog) (he) will perish in grief: in his days the people will turn back to sin and they will forsake the covenant (or, they will turn back and sin against the covenant and be punished)." The name "Gog" is missing in one of the versions of the Asatir (codex B), but this same codex supplies the name in verse 13; and the text is in parallel poetic structure. Verse 13 (codex B) reads: "A prince will arise (Gog) at the end of wickedness: in his days desolation from the land of the mighty a mighty force will bring [sic.]." Finally, verse 16 reads: "A prince will arise, Gog, after these [sic.]." One has to read the entire chapter to grasp the similarity of these citations to the Johannine concept of the anti-Christ.[314] The Gog and Magog legend, according to J. Macdonald, also appears in Abisha's Hymn on the Day of the Atonement Liturgy where it seems to be a parallel to 1 Jn. 2:18.[315]

The latest discussions of the Messiah ben Joseph, especially as he relates to the Samaritans and the Fourth Gospel, that the present writer could find are presented by G. W. Buchanan and J. D. Purvis. Buchanan argues that "the Son of Joseph was a designation for the messiah from Samaria, just as the Son of David was the messiah from Judah."[316] He continues by citing the Memar Marqah, but he mistakenly dates it as medieval, although, as noted earlier, it is almost certainly ca. 3rd-4th cen. A.D.[317] In any case, the "messiah ben Joseph" material in this work is not very specific. Joseph is described as a king (I, 10), as righteous (V,4); he is contrasted with Judah who sinned (IV,6,9); and he intervened on behalf of Reuben, Simeon, and Judah before God (IV,6,9).[318]

Purvis discusses the messiah "Son of Joseph" as he relates to the Fourth Gospel. Purvis argues that it is unlikely that Jn. 1:45 and 6:42 can be interpreted as relating Jesus to the Messiah ben Joseph. He notes that "Son of Joseph" in Jn. 6:42 definitely has a patronymic function, and asserts that the "Son of Joseph" has yet to be proven as a title for any Samaritan "eschatological figure." However, Purvis observes, in the Memar Marqah IV,12 there is a connection between Joseph and the Taheb.[319]

In our view Purvis' argument disregards some things and contains invalid assumptions. First, he underrates the importance of Philip the Evangelist in Acts 8 and in the Early Church traditions about the Fourth Gospel. It is highly significant that a "Philip" who may have been closely connected with the Apostle John and the Samaritan mission (cf. Acts 8:14) should use a "Son of Joseph" title to describe Jesus (Jn. 1:45). Second, he ignores the possibility that even though it may refer to Jesus' father, John may be using the title "Son of Joseph" in an ironical sense (Jn. 6:42). In other words, by acknowledging Jesus as "the Son of Joseph," the Jews may be acknowledging more than they realize, i.e., that Jesus is indeed a messiah, the Messiah ben Joseph or the true "King of Israel." Purvis errs by assuming that "Son of

Joseph can have only one meaning in John, although John is very fond of having Jesus' opponents' words mean more than their speakers intended, e.g., the high priest's statement in Jn. 11:50.[320] Also, he fails to consider Jesus' last withdrawal from Judea before his Passion to Ephraim (Jn. 11:54), and the Jews' charge that Jesus himself is a Samaritan (Jn. 8:48). Thus from a structuralist viewpoint, which assumes that the whole is greater than the parts, the "Son of Joseph" title most probably had Samaritan connotations. We shall see later that this is apparent from the Fourth Gospel itself. From this perspective we must disagree with Purvis when he concludes, "It does not appear that this [i.e., the Johannine] community made use of Samaritan eschatological traditions which might have anticipated a coming Joseph-like or Joshua-like figure."[321]

2) The Son of David in John's Gospel

In contrast to the Taheb and "Son of Joseph" Christologies in John and despite the view taken towards their presence or absence in John, it is fairly certain, as S. E. Johnson observes, that "in general this gospel is very far from the concept of Davidic royalty." John "exhibits no knowledge of the tradition of Jesus' birth in Bethlehem and apparently regards Davidic descent as inapplicable or meaningless so far as Christology is concerned. . . ."[322] The only possible reference to the Davidic messiah is Jn. 7:42, and there it appears on the lips of Jesus' opponents as an argument against his being the Christ. Now, as Meeks observes, this is very strange if one is to believe that this Gospel if Judean.[323] Furthermore, if the differential oppositions which have been presented for Samaria and Judea are valid, then it would be necessary to conclude that "Son of David," along with "King of the Jews," were both Judean titles, perhaps used by a group which represented villainy to the Johannine community. Thus this brief discussion of John's Christology can be concluded with Bowman's observation that "this Gospel sets out the teaching of Jesus in a way that would make it more attractive to the Samaritans; but it does not stop at that; it professes that even Jews regarded it as such [cf. Jn. 8:48]." Moreover, "The point of contact between John's Gospel and Samaritan Theology seems to be the ascribing to the pre-existent Christ what Samaritan Theology ascribes to the pre-existent Moses."[324]

5. Proposed Schemas for the Fourth Gospel Based on the Lives of Elisha and Elijah, the Book of Exodus, and the Samaritan Creed

Before turning to John's topographical schema, we mention three frameworks which have been proposed as indicating Samaritan or northern Israelite influence in John. First, it has been suggested by B. P. Robinson and G. W. Buchanan that the miracles of the northern prophets Elijah and Elisha prefigure Jesus' "signs" in the Fourth Gospel.[325] However, R. E. Brown finds Buchanan's conjecture "without plausibility." Specifically, he contests

Buchanan's enumeration of the miracles of Elijah (7) and Elisha (14).[326] In addition, he thinks Buchanan's parallels to be "too tenuous."[327]

Secondly, a number of scholars have seen what they describe as an Exodus typology present in the Fourth Gospel, and they have attempted to compare Jesus' signs with the plagues of Egypt. In this case, Jesus would indeed be a "second Moses."[328]

Third, John Bowman thinks he sees in Jn. 5:45,47 an outline of the Samaritan creed, less its fourth statement--belief in Mt. Gerizim. Specifically, there are (1) belief in God (Jn. 5:45), (2) belief in Moses (Jn. 5:46), and (3) belief in the Law (Jn. 5:47).[329] Moreover, E. D. Freed, citing Bowman's observation that "emphasis in Samaritanism is on belief, not on the doing of religious practices as with the Jews,"[330] argues that John is unique in its emphasis upon faith and works. Indeed, "no other gospel writer puts the exhortation to believe on the lips of Jesus as frequently as does the writer of John."[331] On this point it should be noted that unlike the Jews the Samaritans apparently never had an oral law surrounding the Torah like a fence. Thus they "never sought to make the Torah cover all the contingencies of life as Rabbinic Judaism sought to do." As long as a Samaritan kept the 613 commandments as best he could, "situations not legislated for in the Written Law and which age-old priestly custom had not envisaged were the individual's own concern belonging to life not religion."[332] Hence though in one sense, the Samaritans were

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stricter observers of the Law than the Jews (cf. T. B. Mass. Kut. 10; T. B. Kidd. 76a; T. B. Ber. 47b; T. B. Gittin 10a), in another sense they possessed a great deal more freedom from any further encroachments of the Law upon their daily lives as the result of some new ruling by those who interpreted the Law.

E. An Analysis of the Topography of John's Gospel

Before beginning an examination of the topographical codes as they appear in the Fourth Gospel, we will summarize their function and the relationship between them and culture in folktales. As J. L. Fischer notes, Lévi-Strauss has shown that "the geographical and technical economic levels [in folktales] . . . reproduce reality exactly . . . ," while "the cosmological level, at least by tacit definition, escapes reality; and the sociological level is a mixture of reality and fantasy."[333] Thus while an analysis of the sociological oppositions in John gives one some idea of what the underlying culture was like, topographical or geographical references are even more reliable indicators. In the words of Heda Jason:

> The spatial aspect [of narratives] can be described in the same way as the temporal aspect:
> 1. The first component of the spatial aspect is the geographical framework in which the item of oral literature is set. Every item explicitly or implicitly happened "somewhere." Those "somewheres" can be arranged into a frame, the dwelling place of the narrative community being in the center of the scheme, surrounded by concentric circles of progressively more distant geographic entities.[334]

This is true even when fictional or supernatural places are referred to in narratives. Indeed the first "basic division is between the natural world and the supernatural world." From these two, other divisions are made by the narrating community among "our village," "our country," "symbolic places," "hell," etc. Moreover, "this scheme seems to be universal." Thus it is the "value system of the culture" which will decide what the historical and topographical frameworks of its narratives will be.[335] Hence the topographical features, whether man-made or natural, can be said to form a set of indices[336] for "metaphysical discriminations" between this world/other world, secular/sacred, low status/high status, normal/abnormal, living/dead, etc. And each narrative thus contains what may be described as an implicit map of social space "using territorial space as a model."[337] Accordingly, to discover the location of the community behind the Fourth Gospel it would be necessary to examine the topographical indices and whatever oppositional systems or schemas they present in the Gospel.

1. Prior Topographical Studies of John's Gospel

At the beginning of this century, Julius Wellhausen considered the Johannine place names to be "antiquarian rarities." Moreover, he thought that the author erred, stating that "die Leute von dem quellenreichen Sichem (Sychar) nach einer Zisterne gehen müssen, um Wasser zu holen."[338] C. C. Torrey, however, considered this interpretation to be an example of eisegesis.[339]

In 1910, B. W. Bacon, noting the differences between the topography of John and the Synoptics, suggested that John's author was a second-century pilgrim who had visited sacred sites in the Holy Land.[340] In 1911 K. L. Schmidt in his Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu asserted that he believed the geographical references in all the Gospels were artificial and schematic in arrangement, but he failed to include a study of John.[341] Yet in each of these studies, and in many others to follow, the results have been marred by an excessive interest in the historical reality of the individual place names in John, while their interrelationships were largely ignored.

The first scholar to begin the breakaway from this trend was Karl Kundsin in 1925.[342] He suggested that each of John's narratives was "anchored" or tied to local traditions which were preserved and treasured by "Jews" living in different villages and towns in Palestine. While he followed the then current trend, which has continued to exist up to the present, to consider the Judean traditions in John to be dominant, he noted that except for the stories of Lazarus and Jesus' Passion and burial, it was Jesus' sojourns in Samaria (4:1-42) and Galilee (6:1-14) which contained the greatest amount of topographical detail.[343] Further, he noted that there was an opposition in John between Cana and Capernaum which led him to believe that some of John's traditions originated from Cana in Galilee. Thus, although John's Gospel was believed by Kundsin to be closely connected with Jerusalem, some of the Johannine traditions he believed to have originated from Samaria and Galilee, especially Cana.[344]

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Approximately a decade later, in 1936, E. Lohmeyer published a work which created categories influential in N.T. scholarship up to the present.[345] He noted an opposition between Galilee and Judea in John which he considered to be present in all four Gospels.[346] Using this schema, he concluded that John, as opposed to the Synoptics, possessed great interest in Jerusalem. For example, while Jesus goes back and forth between Galilee and Jerusalem in chapters 2-6, in chapter 7 he leaves northern Palestine forever, with his subsequent activity concentrated in Jerusalem except for two brief visits to Perea (10:40f.) and Ephraim (11:54). However, the Galileans and the Samaritans were the only Jewish people to accept Jesus, and Lohmeyer noted that they were contrasted with "the Jews." Citing Jn. 7:50-52, where Nicodemus is accused of being a Galilean, Lohmeyer concluded that in John, as in Mark, the Galileans were a "populus christianus" and their land was a "terra christiana." Judea, for Lohmeyer, represents "the world," and Galilee is opposed to it as a place of safety and secrecy. Jerusalem is important only because Golgotha is at the center of the Gospel.[347]

It is an axiom for present-day N.T. scholarship that, since four-fifths of John's Gospel takes place in Jerusalem as opposed to less than one-sixth in Galilee, John is a Judean Gospel.[348] Thus at present these are the common assumptions concerning the provenances of the four Gospels:

The Synoptics--Galilean Traditions

1. Matthew--"Jewish-Christian" and Galilean
2. Mark--Galilean
3. Luke--the "Gospel of the Gentiles"

VS.

4. John--a southern or Judean tradition, most probably Jerusalem (e.g., J. A. T. Robinson, C. H. Dodd, et al.)

2. John a Southern, Judean Gospel?

Despite the majority of scholars who wish to make John a Judean Gospel, others have challenged this thesis. Guthrie, for example, argues that John's use of a large number of Judean sites is simply to be attributed to the Gospel's desire to emphasize Jesus' Judean ministry and does not indicate that John is a Judean Gospel.[349] Likewise, A. Wind also doubts J. A. T. Robinson's argument that "the fact of the concentration of Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem and Judea . . . proves that the Johannine traditions came into existence in that area." Considering that Jesus' ministry and Passion took place in Judea, he notes, it is hardly surprising that many references to Judean locales appear in the Gospel.[350]

More recent redaction-critical studies have tended to ignore the number of Galilean vs. Judean place names[351] and have concentrated instead upon the symbolic roles each region plays in John's schema. As a result, most of these studies have concluded that Jerusalem in John functions as a "place of judgment and rejection." Judea is Jesus' πατρίς where "his own" do not receive him.[352] So, for example, G. J. Cuming argues that, since "the Judeans" in John dwell in Jerusalem and "Judea" is always contrasted with Galilee and never means "the whole of Palestine" (cf., e.g., Jn. 3:22; 4:3,47; 7:1,3; 11:7), the author of John was a Galilean.[353] For J. L. Martyn, however, the journeys of Jesus back and forth between Galilee and Judea are reflections of the author's personal situation (probably ca. 80-90 A.D.) where he is moving back and forth between Jewish and Gentile quarters of his city.[354] But this is a classic case of a confusion between the subject of a statement and the subject of enunciation, e.g., an equation of the grammatical subject of a statement (the narrator) with the actual subject who is making the statement (the author).[355]

Moreover, there are a number of other problems in the various studies of John's topography to date. First of all, most of the prior studies have been based on political divisions, while cultural differences have been neglected. It is not the case that the two always coincide. So, for example, W. H. Brownlee has argued that, although the area in which the Baptist worked was originally outside Judea (because according to ancient boundary lines, Judea "would not extend north of the Dead Sea"), the old tribal boundaries were "obsolete" in Jesus' time "and all the territory governed by Pilate (Luke 3:1) was called Judaea."[356]

If this is true, it is to be wondered if the Samaritans, for example, would call themselves "Judeans" simply because Pilate ruled them? In addition, it is also doubtful that the Judeans would consider them or the Galileans as true "Jews" or "Judeans." Moreover, there is also connected with Lohmeyer's Galilean/Judean dichotomy, an implicit Gentile/Jew or Hellenistic/Palestinian opposition which is considered useful for comparative purposes.[357] Others have attempted to view Galilee or "the Galileans" in Josephus and Luke as an area or group of revolutionaries who opposed Rome, believed in theocracy, and were related to the Sicarii.[358]

In addition, too many scholars have attempted to locate the unknown provenance (John) in terms of its opposition to what they consider the known (the Synoptics). Two scholars, however, have taken a more fruitful approach by disregarding the Synoptics and considering John alone, e.g., W. A. Meeks and R. T. Fortna. Meeks, for example, has challenged C. H. Dodd's argument that the geographical framework of the Fourth Gospel is based on the Synoptics.[359] By so doing, he stated, he wished to make "a fresh examination of the place of Galilee and Judea within the literary structure of John."[360] Considering the basic question of where John assumes Jesus to be from, he concluded that John assumes a Galilean origin for its hero. Moreover, "his Galilean origin is emphasized over against the presumed Judean origin of the Messiah and the unspecified but non-Galilean origin of the prophet."[361]

In addition, Meeks notes that from the very beginning of the Gospel there are places where Jesus can "remain" or "stay" (μένω) as opposed to places where he cannot.[362] So, for example, the call of the two disciples of the Baptist has a "climax, in terms of formal structure," in the question: "Rabbi, where are you staying?" and concludes with the statement that these disciples stayed with Jesus (Jn. 1:39f.). Similarly, Jesus "stays" two days with the Samaritans (Jn. 4:40). Jesus also "stays" in Capernaum (2:12), Galilee (7:9), Transjordan (10:40-42; 11:6), and Ephraim (11:54). All these places are opposed as polar opposites to Judea and Jerusalem where Jesus never "stays." Rather, in Judea he "spends time" (διέτριβεν ; 3:22). From his analysis, Meeks concludes that there is an "apparently deliberate dialectic between Jerusalem, the place of judgment and rejection, and Galilee and Samaria, the places of acceptance and discipleship."[363] In another more recent article, Meeks adds that while John "maintains a careful geographical and religious differentiation between Judeans, Galileans, and Samaritans," he makes "very little differentiation within any of these groups."[364]

Likewise, R. T. Fortna has examined John's geographical schema specifically by distinguishing John's redaction and the alleged "Signs Gospel" source. He also concludes that it is inaccurate to consider Galilee and Samaria to be of secondary importance, because "Galilee's role is just as distinctive and schematic as Judea's and by comparison with the two other regions [i.e.,

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Samaria and Perea], it provides the chief contrast with Judea." In particular, "Galilee is the place of belief, and Galileans are shown as men of faith."[365] The only exception to this is chapter 6, but Fortna argues that here this Galilean faith was "not so much invalid as overenthusiastic."[366] Having said this Fortna is still reluctant in his conclusion to abandon the Judean hypothesis for John:

> Galilee, then, plays a vital, if limited, part in the topographic scheme of the Gospel. Galilaios occurs only once (4:45)--contrast the use of Ioudaios! --and Galilean belief is never shown as a widespread thing. Furthermore, it is never far removed from reference to Judea. Thus, just as Jewish belief is always somehow exceptional, Galilean belief, however consistent, is somehow unexpected. John looks favorably on Galilee and unfavorably on Judea, but his chief focus is on the latter, and no matter how faithful the Galileans are, lack of faith in Judea is his preoccupation.[367]

In contrast to these approaches to John's topography, another could be made by examining the connotations[368] which a reader of the Fourth Gospel might be expected to receive by the mere reference to certain places in the Fourth Gospel. In other words, as R. Barthes notes, "The topographic code is obviously a cultural code," so that the mere mention of place names "implies a certain knowledge on the part of the reader." There is, in short, a certain "symbolic field" which surrounds every place name in the N.T. which has been created, for example, by its appearance in the Old Testament.[369] That even the early Church Fathers understood this principle is demonstrated by Eusebius' Onomasticon.[370] On this basis, it can be assumed that John's choice of certain places as worth mentioning would be yet another indication of its cultural context.

Now the actual number of place names present in John's Gospel is disputed. C. K. Barrett, for example, lists only twelve,[371] while Père Lagrange lists as many as twenty-three.[372] Some place names, however, play a larger role than others in the Gospel. So, for example, the following sites may be assumed to possess great significance simply because they are peculiar to John: Bethany beyond Jordan, Cana in Galilee, Aenon near Salim, Sychar, the pool of Siloam, Solomon's Porch, Ephraim, the garden beyond the brook Kidron, the Praetorium, and the Pavement. Furthermore, R. D. Potter has suggested eight "areas" which he thinks are most significant in John: (1) Jn. 4-- Συχὰρ (4:5), Jacob's Well (4:6), and its vicinity;[373] (2) Bethany beyond Jordan (1:28);[374] (3) Galilean places: Cana (2:1; 2:11; 4:46);[375] Nazareth (1:46); Capernaum (2:12; 4:46; 6:17,24,59); Bethsaida (1:44; 12:21);[376] (4) Aenon near Salim (3:23);[377] (5) the Pools of Bethesda (5:2)[378] and Siloam (9:7); (6) Temple references (5:14; 7:14,28; 11:56; 18:20); and especially two particular sites (8:20; 10:23) which are referred to in Acts 3:11; 5:12; (7) "Passion-Drama" sites--Ephraim (11:54)[379] and Kidron (18:1);[380] The Pavement (or Γαββαθά) (19:13); the "Place of the Skull" (19:17); and finally (8) "Burial and Tomb" sites (19:41). As Potter notes, most of them appear in Samaria and Galilee.[381]

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Since it is impossible to cover all eight of these areas, some choices will have to be made. Therefore it is proposed that the connotations of the most important Galilean and Samaritan sites be presented. As far as the Judean sites are concerned, since the significance of the Temple has already been discussed (see pp. 236-239 above), and since this writer has already published translations of L. Marin's and C. Chabrol's semiotic analyses of Jesus' Passion Narrative in all four Gospels, with a translation of L. Marin's semiotic study of the sites in Jesus' Passion in preparation,[382] it would seem superfluous to cover the connotations of Jesus' Passion in John. However, it should perhaps be noted that Louis Marin observed the existence of the same topographical oppositions between Galilee and Judea, especially in the Gospel of Luke.[383] Therefore, in place of the Judean topographical connotations in the Fourth Gospel, it is proposed that the question of Jesus' πατρίς be discussed.

3. Galilean Sites in John's Gospel

As Kundsin noted, there seems to be an opposition between Cana and Capernaum in John's Gospel. For example, in Jn. 6:59 Jesus meets opposition from "the Jews" in a synagogue at Capernaum, while Cana seems to be a place where Jesus is accepted (Jn. 2:1,11; 4:46; 21:2).[384] Now unlike Cana, which is unique to John among the Gospels, Capernaum is mentioned in all the other Gospels (Mtt. 4:13; 8:5; 11:23; 17:24; Mk. 1:21; 2:1; 9:33; Lk. 4:23; 4:31; 7:1; 10:15). Moreover, in the Synoptics, Capernaum is described as a place with ambivalent attitudes towards Jesus. As far as Cana is concerned, Josephus does refer to a Cana in Galilee (*Vita* 16; *Ant.* XIII,15,1; *War* I,4,7; 7,5), but he says so little about it that nothing can be learned from him. B. P. Robinson, however, thinks that he can see a similarity between Jesus' water-into-wine miracle and Elisha's sweetening of a water supply (2 Kgs. 2:19-22), thus placing Jesus in the tradition of this northern prophet.[385]

Bethsaida, however, is a very significant place name for John since three of Jesus' disciples (Andrew, Peter and Philip) are said to have come from there (Jn. 1:44; 12:21). This view of Bethsaida contrasts sharply with that of Matthew and Luke where it is cursed for not paying heed to Jesus' signs (Mtt. 11:21; Lk. 10:13). But though Matthew has nothing favorable to say about it, Luke is ambivalent since the "Feeding of the Five Thousand" takes place there (Lk. 9:10; cf. Jn. 6:5).

4. Transjordanian Sites in John's Gospel

Transjordan or Perea is significant in John as the first location for the baptizing activities of John the Baptist. The most enigmatic site apparently located in this region is "Bethany beyond Jordan" (βηθανια . . . πέραν τοῦ ᾿Ιορδανου -- (Jn. 1:28). This site has never been specifically situated, although it has been subject to an endless number of speculations. For example, P. Parker has attempted to argue that there is only one Bethany in the Fourth Gospel. He thinks Jn. 1:28 should read:

"These things took place in Bethany, which is opposite (i.e., across the hills from) the point of the Jordan where John had been baptizing."[386] To this suggestion R. T. Fortna has responded that "Parker's reading strains both grammar and geography" because τοῦ Ἰορδάνου is the object of πέραν and the ὅπου clause is used appositively not relatively (cf. 4:46; 12:1). If John had written what Parker thinks, it would read πέραν τοῦ τόπου ὅπου (cf. 6:23; 10:40). And he concludes, "Furthermore it is hard to imagine anyone identifying a place near Jerusalem by reference to a point in the Jordan valley."[387]

Perhaps, however, a semiologist can make a small contribution to this problem. David C. Bennett in his linguistic classifications of "locative-directional distinctions" (sic) notes that phrases such as "beyond" or "across the Jordan" are "directional-locative expressions" (sic).[388] Such phrases "are locative in function, but contain a directional expression as their second constituent." In simple terms, "They specify a location by indicating the path that could be taken in order to reach it." Thus "directional-locative expressions are always interpreted in relation to some reference point," so that "over the hill," for example, means different locations "depending on whether the speaker is on one side of the hill or the other." Moreover, "the speaker's reference point is often, but by no means always his own position." Whenever the speaker indicates his location, he does so "by means of a source expression," e.g., "Harry lives along the road from here" or "Harry lives over the hill from the cemetery."[389] This would mean that it is unlikely (but not impossible) that the Johannine community was located at "Bethany beyond Jordan," since such an expression would normally mean that the community would have to cross the Jordan to get to "Bethany beyond the Jordan." But since there is no "from" clause, and no one has ever been convincingly able to identify the location of "Bethany beyond the Jordan," that is all that can be said.

To judge from its position in John, it may have possessed highly significant connotations for the Samaritan community. Boismard, for one, has argued that Jn. 1:19ff. contains an Exodus theme, and that "Bēthabara" is to be preferred to Bēthania in 1:28, in agreement with Eusebius' *Onomasticon*.[390] Moreover, Abel suggested that this spot was the traditional place where the Israelites first crossed the Jordan River. As Barrosse observes, if all this is true, the Fourth Gospel "would place the inauguration of Jesus' saving ministry at the very spot where the last and climactic stage of ancient Israel's exodus (the occupation of the promised land) began."[391] If this is right, it would be of greatest significance to those northern tribes who experienced the Exodus, i.e., the "House of Joseph." However, some of the most recent scholarship on "Bethany beyond the Jordan" suggests that there is a close relationship between it and Bethsaida, the hometown of Andrew, Peter, and Philip (Jn. 1:44).[392]

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5. Samaritan Sites in John's Gospel

As J. Boehmer notes, it is sometimes difficult to know, when the word "Samaria" is used in the N.T., whether it refers to the city of Samaria or the region.[393] However, the first possible allusion to a Samaritan site in John appears in Jn. 1:51 when Jesus, after calling the "true Israelite," Nathanael, refers to Jacob's Ladder Dream (Gen. 28:10-22) at Bethel (Gen. 28:19). Moreover, it seems to be highly significant that this passage in Genesis appears in its original context immediately before Jacob's meeting with Rachel at a well (Gen. 29:1-12; cf. Jn. 4:5,12). Thus again the connotations of Jacob's dream at Bethel would be especially numerous and significant for a member of the Rachel Tribes. Now it should be noted that the Samaritans considered the lower slopes of Mt. Gerizim to be the place where Jacob had his "Ladder Dream."[394] As E. F. F. Bishop notes, "_The Samaritan tradition that Bethel was on Gerizim has a very great deal to say for itself_."[395] To this John Bowman adds that it is "highly unlikely" that Mt. Gerizim became a sacred place for the first time at the time of the Jewish-Samaritan schism. Indeed, "Such a view is unrealistic," because, "Gerizim and its neighbourhood are associated with the earliest stages of the history of the Hebrews." For example, Shechem was one of the first places in Canaan to be visited by Abraham (Gen. 12:6; cf. Josh. 24:1-3, 26-27). And while the name "Bethel" is used of various sacred places, e.g. Judges 20:18; 21:2; Josh. 12:16; 1 Sam. 30:27 (the last two being in

Judah), there is good evidence for identifying Jacob's "Bethel" (i.e., the place where he had his dream) with Shechem.[396] Indeed, contemporary Samaritans consider Mt. Gerizim to be Bethel (Ex. 15:17; Deut. 11:29; 12:26). It is the place where God's name dwells, i.e., not where God himself is present (see pp. 168-169 above). It is also considered to be the place of Isaac's sacrifice,[397] the place of Jacob's dream, the burial places of Joseph and Enoch, etc.[398]

The topographical connotations surrounding Jacob's Dream in Jn. 1:51 can be concluded with these remarks by J. D. Purvis:

> This [passage, Jn. 1:51] is an obvious allusion to the story of Jacob's experience at Bethel (Genesis xxviii.10-17), which was used by the biblical writers as an aetiological legend for the founding of the northern cultic center at Bethel, and by the Samaritans as a tradition relating the Patriarchs to their cultic center at Mt. Gerizim (which they identified with Bethel).[399]

The next reference to a Samaritan site in John is explicit. In John 3:22-23, while Jesus and his disciples are baptizing in Judea, "John also was baptizing at Aenon near Salim, because there was much water there." Now despite attempts by many scholars in the past to place this site in Judea, e.g., at Ain and Shilhim (Josh. 15:32) or 'Ain Fârah (or 'Ain Wâdy Fâraḫ) near Jerusalem,[400] today most scholars place Aenon near Salim in Samaria, although they may differ on precisely where.[401] However, as early as 1883 William Stevens argued for perhaps the best identification of the site--at the western end of the Wâdy Beidan, 3-4 miles north of Salim.[402]

As Stevens noted, there are many significant connotations surrounding this Salim. According to Gen. 14:18 (M.T., LXX); 33:18 (LXX), it was the residence of the King-Priest Melchizedek. This would agree with 1 Macc. 7:31, and the church fathers, Epiphanius and Jerome, who considered the O.T. Salem to be the Salim near Shechem.[403] Moreover, this Salim would be one-half mile due east of Jacob's well (Jn. 4:6),[404] and as such it would have numerous connotations for Samaritan readers. This would agree with its appearance in John's Gospel where it is directly contrasted with Judea (Jn. 3:22; cf. 3:23). Secondly, if the earlier discussion concerning the Book of Hebrews and the Samaritans is valid, it would not be coincidental that the only N.T. book to mention Melchizedek explicitly is Hebrews (5:6,10; 6:20; 7:1,10,11,15,17), where Jesus is said to be of the same priesthood and likeness as Melchizedek.[405] Moreover, the Samaritan Chronicles mention Salem the Great as the place of residence of their high priests.[406]

John (3:23) says it had "much water" (πολλὰ ὕδατα), and Stevens describes his site as containing: "Fountains . . . bursting forth from the rocks on either side, and a mountain brook . . . plunging downward in cascades and broken streams to the lower bed of the Wady."[407] While there are other Salems in Palestine, none of them south of the sources of the Jordan has such amounts of water near them.[408] Moreover, water is perhaps one of the most significant themes of the Fourth Gospel. It is transformed into wine at Cana (Jn. 2:7,9), and equated with the

Holy Spirit in the discourses with Nicodemus (Jn. 3:5) and the Samaritan woman (Jn. 4). Both wine (as vinegar, Jn. 19:29) and water (from Jesus' pierced side, Jn. 19:34) appear at the climax of the whole Gospel. It would take more space than is available here, to present a semiotic analysis of the role of food and drink in this Gospel, but it would be greatly useful in unraveling the narrative logic of this Gospel. In any case, Fortna's assessment that Aenon near Salim has "little importance in John's topographic schema"[409] can be seen to be mistaken considering the connotations mentioned above.

The next references to Samaritan sites in John (4:1-6) have long been used by scholars as support for their contention that the author of John was an eyewitness to the events he is narrating.[410] As Kundsin noted, with the sole exceptions of the sites of Jesus' Passion and burial and the Feeding narrative of chapter 6, John 4 contains the greatest amount of topographical detail (see p. 253 above). Jacob's Well and the sites surrounding it may be described as the very center of northern Israelite and Samaritan culture. Indeed, Shechem (or Sychar) was the "regular meeting place for the 'Joseph' Tribes."[411] And John makes a reference to "the field that Jacob gave his son Joseph" (Jn. 4:5; cf. Gen. 33:19; 48:22; Josh. 24:33).

It is now possible to understand the significance of Jesus' going to Jacob's Well at the foot of Mt. Gerizim to be accepted as the true "King of Israel." Like Rehoboam (1 Kgs. 12:1-20), Jesus goes to Shechem to be accepted as the king of the northern tribes. But unlike Rehoboam, who was accepted only by Judah (1 Kgs. 12:20) and rejected by the northern tribes, Jesus is Rehoboam's polar opposite since he is rejected by Judah and accepted by the northern tribes! In addition, since Jesus is _a_ "Son of Joseph" (Jn. 1:45) he goes to the _field_ (Jn. 4:5) that Jacob gave his son Joseph; and unlike every other place in the Fourth Gospel, Joseph's field is ready to be harvested (Jn. 4:35). Further, in this reference to Jacob's burial place in Shechem, there is yet another reflection of Stephen's speech (Acts 7:16). All these connotations would hardly be acceptable to the Judeans of Jesus' day.

The last reference to a Samaritan site appears in Jn. 11:54-57, where Jesus leaves Judea for the last time to retire to Ephraim. This site contains almost as many northern connotations as the other Samaritan sites. As has been noted, the Samaritans, as members of the Rachel-Joseph clans, believed they were descendants of Ephraim and Manasseh. Still, there are many scholars, apparently out of a desire to make John as Judean as possible, who have attempted to place Ephraim in Judea.[412] Nevertheless, "the very name Ephraim, with its Old Testament association, seemed to John to exclude it from Judea; . . . in any case, he makes it clear enough that the place is utterly removed from Jerusalem . . . ."[413] Also, since Josephus lists an Ephraim (ʼΕφραίμ) in Samaria (_War_, IV,9,9), and 1 Macc. 11:34 mentions a Samaritan town Aphairema (ʼΑφαίρεμα) which became part of Judea by force in the time of the Maccabees, it is almost certain that the site is Samaritan. The connotations surrounding it arise from the deliberate neglect of the name Ephraim in the Judeans' post-exilic O.T. literature (e.g., in Haggai, Malachi, Zechariah, etc.). Moreover, Bowman thinks he can detect a Judean smear against Ephraim in Jgs. 5:14 where there is an implication that Ephraim and Amalek were kin (cf. Gen. 36:12; Ex. 17:8,14; 1 Chron. 4:42ff.).[414] Thus the fact that the name appears only in John in the N.T. heightens its opposition with Judea; and it should be added that Jn. 4:20 also contains the only N.T. reference, albeit indirect, to Mt. Gerizim.[415] Perhaps the fact that Ephraim, as a Samaritan town captured by the Judeans (1 Macc. 11:34), is the last place Jesus goes before being captured by the Judeans is to be considered symbolic of the fate of Jesus to come. In any case, Ephraim, unlike Jerusalem and Judea, is Jesus' last place of refuge before his Passion. Is it only coincidence that Jesus finds refuge in a Samaritan town?

6. Jesus' Πατρίς and the Judean Sites in John's Gospel

As we noted earlier, we are going to bypass a detailed discussion of the connotations of the Judean sites in John, the most important ones being the city of Jerusalem itself (Jn. 1:19; 2:13,23; 4:20,21,45; 5:1,2; 7:25; 10:22; 11:18,55; 12:12) and Bethany, the home of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha (Jn. 11:1,18; 12:1). The significance of the Temple has already been discussed (see pp.

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236-239 above), and Bethany has been discussed in great detail by Kundsin and a number of other scholars.[416] As far as Judea is concerned, its significance seems to lie in the question of its being Jesus' "homeland" (πατρίς). In particular, Jn. 4:43-45 presents itself, in Fortna's words, as a "notorious crux" or aporia in the Gospel: "After the two days [in Samaria] he departed to Galilee. For Jesus himself testified that a prophet has no honor in his own country [πατρίς]" (vv. 43-44). The question arises: What is Jesus' homeland in John? Some scholars on the basis of John's allusions to Nazareth (Jn. 1:45f.; 7:41,52; 18:5, 7) have understood Jesus' "patris" to be Nazareth in Galilee. But if this is true, then his welcome in Galilee in Jn. 4:45 would not agree with Jn. 4:43-44. The immediate context demands Samaria as Jesus' "patris," but this would also disagree with the warm welcome Jesus has received earlier in Samaria (Jn. 4:39-42).

J. Willemse has examined in great detail the various hypotheses for explaining Jn. 4:44. There have been three of them: (1) Jesus' "patris" was Palestine;[417] (2) Jesus' "patris" was Galilee/Nazareth;[418] or (3) Jesus' "patris" was Judea/Jerusalem.[419] Willemse refuses to consider the possibility that Jesus' "patris" was Samaria, even though the immediate context would demand it, because he thinks a Jew, like Jesus, would not enter Samaria if he could help it (Jn. 4:4,9). Moreover, Willemse thinks there is a distinction between the Samaritans and Jesus' ἴδιοι (Jn. 1:11) and between Samaria and Jesus' ἰδίᾳ πατρίς (Jn. 4:44).[420] Thus Willemse concludes Jesus' "patris" in John is Judea/Jerusalem.[421]

B. W. Bacon suggests that there is a lacuna in Jn. 4:44 and the words: " ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ναζαρέτ " should be prefixed. But Bacon adds that as soon as these words are added, "the reason for their omission from the text becomes self-evident; they appeared to contradict the Synoptic story of Jesus' preaching in His native place, if not the story of His birth in Bethelehem as well."[422] Wayne Meeks, however, proposes to solve the problem by making a distinction between Jesus' *native* land (his "patris" = Galilee) and his *own* land (his "idia" = Judea). While Jesus is *not* accepted in his "own" land (Jn. 1:11), he is accepted in his native land (4:45).[423] Although Meeks' solution is ingenious, Jn. 4:44 remains a problem.

A partial solution can be suggested by referring to the earlier discussion in this chapter about narratives with "inner-familial" conflicts. Such narratives begin with the break-up of the original family and end with the creation of a new one, in the case of John "the children of God," i.e., Jesus' disciples. Incidentally, this is why the anonymous "beloved disciple" is ordered by Jesus to take Jesus' mother "to his *own* house" (Jn. 19:27). Thus the mistake scholars have made in the past is their neglect of what Corina Galland calls "narrative progression," i.e., the process by which characters in a narrative interact and change their relationships to one another so that they become essentially the opposite of what they were at the beginning.[424] So, in the case of Jesus, a transition can be seen to take place. At Jn. 4:22 Jesus separates himself from the Samaritans as a Jew. However, the Samaritans believe in him and become members of his flock and correlatively Jesus belongs to them as well (cf. Jn. 17:26). With a new "own," Jesus in Jn. 8:48 is accused of being a Samaritan by the Jews. Therefore a solution to this textual aporia becomes clear. Jesus is a prophet (Jn. 4:19), and like most of the northern prophets, e.g., Elisha, Elijah, Amos, Hosea, etc., prophets do not receive honor in their home country--Samaria. But this does not mean that Jesus is not a Jew in John. It simply means that Jesus belongs to those who believe in him. Like any good narrator, John 4:44 intentionally leaves a gap in the story for its listeners or readers to fill in with their own presuppositions.[425] So Jesus is a "Jew" at the beginning of the Gospel; he becomes so alienated from them, however, that he becomes a Samaritan, then in the end he becomes the King of all Israel with disciples from Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, who draws all men to himself.[426] So, in Fortna's words, "Presumably he [Jesus] can in some sense be thought of as coming from Samaria, much as, while a *Ioudaios* whose homeland is Judea, he nevertheless comes from Galilee."[427]

As Fortna notes, John uses his topographical references in neither an "incidental nor merely factual" manner. "Rather, the topography is schematic, and everywhere has theological significance." Moreover, "the most striking feature of John's schema is the alteration of Judea on the one hand with Galilee, Samaria, or Perea on the other," which is shown by the fact that Jesus' signs produce one result in Judea and another in Galilee.[428] Thus it is clear that a polar opposition between Judah and Israel (including Samaria, Galilee, and Perea) exists in the topographical schema of the Gospel. Furthermore, a parallel schema also exists in the conflict between Jesus and the Judeans as has been seen.

Moreover, the same schema can be seen in the person of John the Baptist. Unlike the Synoptics, where the Baptist works in southern Palestine, the Baptist in John seems to work not near the Dead Sea, "but in the north, perhaps even above the Sea of Galilee," and Fortna cites the references to Bethsaida and Nazareth as evidence of this (Jn. 1:44,46).[429]

Therefore it is hardly coincidental that it is the northern Joseph or Rachel tribes who accept Jesus and appear to be so prominent in this Gospel. Moreover, as was noted earlier (see p. 167 above), their tribal lands included part of Transjordan which is also a place of refuge for Jesus. Hence it is erroneous to judge the significance of Galilee, Samaria, Transjordan, and Judah "by purely quantitative measurements."[430] John's Gospel is no doubt forced by reality to place Jesus' Passion in Judea, but it is not forced to place Jesus in Samaria, since with the possible exception of Luke (9:52; 10:33; 17:11,16), none of the other Gospels chose to do so. Moreover, it is the bitterness which

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existed between North and South in Israel over the centuries which best explains the "anti-Judeanism" which permeates this work. The Samaritans never forgot Ezra's rebuff of their offer to help rebuild Jerusalem, nor the destruction of their Temple on Mt. Gerizim by the Maccabeans who laid siege to their cities and forced them to eat unclean foods (Josephus, Ant. XIII,9,1; 10,2; War I,2,6; 2 Macc. 6:2; cf. 15:1). Moreover, they remembered King Ahaz paying Tiglathpileser to sack Syria and weaken Israel so they could be conquered (2 Kgs. 17). Here are mentioned just a few of the Judean assaults upon them.

A conclusion can be made to this discussion of John's topography by citing Wayne Meeks:

> Perhaps . . . the Johannine geography is purely symbolic, owing little or nothing to the geographical situation of the community that shaped its traditions. . . . Nevertheless such a solution would leave unanswered the puzzling question how precisely "Galilee" and "Samaria" became positive symbols for the Christian movement. There is no hint that they were derived from Scripture proofs. . . . The best explanation for the controversy stories in which "Galilean" and "Samaritan" are epithets applied by Jewish opponents to Jesus or his followers is the assumption that Christians of the Johannine circle had at some point met just this kind of polemic. The positive appropriation of these epithets, moreover, suggests that there may have been historical reasons why the Johannine community was willing tacitly to accept an identification as "Samaritans" and "Galileans."[431]

NOTES--CHAPTER IV

[1] Charles H. H. Scobie, "North and South: Tension and Reconciliation in Biblical History," Biblical Studies: Essays in Honor of William Barclay, eds. J. R. McKay and J. F. Miller (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), p. 88. Much to this writer's chagrin, Scobie has replicated much of the research and conclusions intended to be presented here. Therefore, since it is rather useless to repeat all the information which Scobie has already published, it will simply be surveyed with expansions made and disagreements noted wherever it is deemed necessary.

[2] Scobie, "North and South," pp. 87, 89. On 2 Kgs. 17: 29 and the observation that it has been continuously mistranslated and misinterpreted, see J. Macdonald, "The Discovery of Samaritan Religion," Religion 2 (1972):143.

[3] Scobie, "North and South," p. 88.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., pp. 89-92.

[7] Ibid., p. 89.

[8] On the rivalry between Shechem and Jerusalem in the O.T., see E. Nielsen, Shechem: A Tradition-Historical Investigation (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad, 1959), pp. 323-346.

[9] Scobie, "North and South," pp. 89-90.

[10] See G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), Vol. I, p. 16.

[11] See A. Alt, "The God of the Fathers," Essays on Old Testament History and Religion, trans. R. A. Wilson (Garden City: Doubleday, 1968), pp. 2-86, esp. pp. 28-29. But see contra: F. Cross, "Yahweh, the God of the Patriarchs," HTR 55 (1962): 225-259.

[12] Alt, "The God of the Fathers," pp. 63-64.

[13] Ibid., p. 66.

[14] See M. G. Rogers, "Book of Judges," IDB, supp. vol. V, pp. 509-514; and his trans. of R. Smend, Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation (Nashville: Abingdon, 1970), esp. pp. 86-97 and chap. 5 on the Rachel and Leah Tribes, pp. 98-108.

[15] See von Rad, O.T. Theology, I, pp. 235-237.

[16] See G. Henton Davies, "Tabernacle," IDB, IV, pp. 498-506.

[17] Von Rad, O.T. Theology, I, p. 236.

[18] Ibid., pp. 236-237 n.111.

[19] Ibid., pp. 238-239.

[20] The Samaritans have a similar tradition concerning this event, but instead of Nathan, it is the Samaritan High Priest, "Yaire," who dissuades David, see Jacob, "The History and Religion of the Samaritans," Bibliotheca Sacra 63 (1906):408.

[21] This is to be expected, since as Peter Caws says: "All attempts to classify and predict human behavior quickly encounter limits which show them, in all but a few cases (and all these to some extent pathological) to be futile" (Peter Caws, "What is Structuralism?" Partisan Review 35 [1968]:87).

[22] See J. Smith, The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: A New Interpretation (London: S.P.C.K., 1931), esp. chap. VI--"Was Ezekiel a Prophet of the North?"; cf. Scobie, "North and South," pp. 91, 205 n.27.

[23] See M. Gaster, The Samaritans (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), pp. 15, 138, 139; C. Mackay, "The City and the Sanctuary, Ezek. XLVIII," Princeton Theological Review 20 (1922): 399-417; 21 (1923):372ff.; 22 (1924):27ff.; cf. Scobie, "North and South," pp. 91, 205 n.29; J. Smith, The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, pp. 66f.; L. E. Brown, Ezekiel and Alexander (London: S.P.C.K., 1952), pp. 10, 17ff.

[24] See J. Bowman, "Early Samaritan Eschatology," Journal of Jewish Studies 6 (1955):63ff.; and especially, idem, "Ezekiel and the Zadokite Priesthood," Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society 16 (1955-56):1-14.

[25] See J. Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, trans. A. M. Johnson, Jr. (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1975), pp. 33-34.

[26] J. Bowman, "Ezekiel," p. 14.

[27] Ibid. It should also be added that although most of the other Jewish prophets are attacked in the Samaritan Chronicles, Ezekiel is not mentioned, see M. Gaster, The Samaritans, p. 11.

[28] Von Rad, O.T. Theology, vol. I, pp. 238-239.

[29] For an extensive discussion of the Rabbinic view of the Samaritans (primarily among second-century Rabbis), see J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1923), pp. 165-195; and A. E. Cowley, "Samaritana I. Samaritan Dealings with Jews," JQR 16 (1904):474-483.

[30] The Masecheth Kuthim appears sixth at the end of the fourth Seder of the Babylonian Talmud along with six other extra-Talmudic tractates entitled "Seven Jerusalemite Booklets." For an English translation of it, see J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans, pp. 197-203.

[31] See on these points, J. Bowman, "The Parable of the Good Samaritan," Expository Times 59 (1947-48):151-152; idem, "Samaritan Studies," BJRL 40 (1958):298; and W. A. Stevens, "Aenon Near to Salim," JBL 3 (1883):140.

[32] For these sources, see Montgomery, The Samaritans, pp. 175-176, 186-188.

[33] Unlike the largely anonymous Samaritan Chronicles, Marqah is known to have been a fourth-century theologian living at the time of Baba Rabba, the great Samaritan reformer. His Memar manuscript is available only in a medieval (ca. 1053 A.D.) copy. But it is written in the same Aramaic dialect as the Samaritan Targum and can be dated "almost certainly to the late third or fourth century A.D. for a number of reasons." For example, the Memar contains theological concepts which were current only at that time, but it cites concepts from earlier sources as well. It uses several Greek but no Latin words, and almost all its Greek words ceased to be used in literature after this time period. On its date, see J. Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans (London: SCM, 1964), pp. 42f.; J. E. H. Thomson, The Samaritans (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1919), p. 174; and Moses Gaster, The Samaritans, p. 142. Gaster even wants to date it a century earlier. For a discussion of the dates of the other Samaritan writings, i.e., the SP, the Samaritan Targum, the Asatir, the Dustan, Chronicle III, Chronicle IV, Chronicle V, Chronicle VI, the Hillukh, the Malef, Chronicle VII, etc., see Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans, pp. 40-49.

[34] See J. Bowman, "Early Samaritan Eschatology," p. 68.

[35] The rabbinic and early Christian sources may be explained, as Montgomery (*The Samaritans*, p. 187) attempts to do, by saying that although the Samaritans like the Sadducees denied the resurrection of *the body*, neither of them questioned the immortality of the soul (see on the Sadducees, T. B. *Sanh*. 90b; cf. Mtt. 22: 23). We prefer, however, the position that some Jews and early Christians simply confused the Samaritans and Sadducees. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1975), p. 145, expresses another common opinion that Marqah is simply the earliest witness to a doctrine of resurrection among the Samaritans.

[36] On the Samaritan doctrine of the "Day of Vengeance and Recompense," see J. Bowman, "Early Samaritan Eschatology," pp. 65-68. It should be noted that Samaritan eschatology contains a certain amount of millenialism (see Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, pp. 240-243). J. E. H. Thomson (*The Samaritans*, pp. 196-197) thinks that Samaritan eschatology is millenial and is most similar to that in the Book of Revelation!

[37] See J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, pp. 171, 183.

[38] Ibid., p. 173.

[39] M. F. Collins, "The Hidden Vessels in Samaritan Traditions," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 3 (1972):114.

[40] So R. Ishmael believed that they were גירי אריות , but R. Akiba thought they were גירי אמת and that their priests were valid (T. B. Kidd. 75b). R. Simeon ben Gamaliel believed their law-keeping *better* than the Jews (T. B. Hullin, 4a; T. B. Ber. 47b). But R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus doubted this (T. B. Hullin 4a).

[41] R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), Vol. I, p. 644.

[42] G. W. Buchanan, "The Samaritan Origin of the Gospel of John," *Religions in Antiquity*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1970), pp. 158-159.

[43] Ben Zion Bokser, "Justin Martyr and the Jews," *JQR* 64 (1973-74):114.

[44] J. Bowman, "Benjamin and Amalek and Paul the Apostle," *Abr-Nahrain* 13 (1972):88-99.

[45] Ibid., p. 93.

[46] This second Samaritan Chronicle has been partially translated by J. Macdonald, The Samaritan Chronicle No. II, From Joshua to Nebuchadnezzar (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969). In addition to the article we are using (John Macdonald and A. J. B. Higgins, "The Beginnings of Christianity according to the Samaritans," NTS 18 [1971-72]:54-80), see a summary of the remainder of its contents by Ayala Loewenstamm in his article "Samaritans," Encyclopaedia Judaica (Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1972), vol. XIV, pp. 751-757.

The contents of the Second Samaritan Chronicle (John Rylands Library MS 1142; dated 1616 A.D.) which we are citing actually "cannot be dated at all" (so J. Macdonald, The Theolo[illegible] of the Samaritans [London: SCM, 1964], p. 44). It is entitled "The Book of Days, containing the events of the days from the entry of Joshua the son of Nun into the land of Canaan up to the present day." The "present day" in this case is the seventeenth century A.D. The reason the contents of its different sections cannot be dated is because of its method of composition. The work was written by many centuries of different priests, each adding the events of his era to those written down before him. Further complication is created because the Samaritans, unlike the Jews in the Mishnah, Talmuds, etc., do not give the names of the priests supplying the information. Thus the contents of each section must be dated on internal evidence alone. The portions of the Second Chronicle dealing with Jesus and his disciples are written in good classical Samaritan Hebrew. We shall omit those sections which J. Macdonald and A. J. B. Higgins consider to be secondary and medieval (see Macdonald and Higgins, "The Beginnings," p. 55). Our fourth-century date comes from C. H. H. Scobie's conclusions as to the date of this section on the basis of its contents, e.g., the omission of the Catholic Epistles in its list of N.T. books, its attitude towards Christianity, etc. (see C. H. H. Scobie, "The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity," NTS 19 [1973]:401-402 n.10). It should be noted, however, that we cite it only as supplementary secondary documentation revealing the continuation of the synchronic structures we are discussing.

[47] Macdonald and Higgins, "The Beginnings," p. 61.

[48] For a good survey of the different interpretations of this subject, see E. Ferguson, "The Hellenists in the Book of Acts," Restoration Quarterly 12 (1969):159-180; and Howard Marshall, "Palestinian and Hellenistic Christianity," NTS 19 (1973): 272-279.

[49] See, for example, H. J. Cadbury, "The Hellenists," The Beginnings of Christianity, eds. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan, 1933), vol. V, pp. 59-74; G. P. Wetter, "Das älteste hellenistische Christentum nach der Apostelgeschichte," Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 21 (1922):397-429; E. Lohmeyer, "Das Abendmahl in der Urgemeinde," JBL 56 (1937):217-252; W. Grundmann, "Das Problem des hellenistischen Christentums innerhalb

der Jerusalemer Urgemeinde," ZNW 38 (1939):54-64.

[50] See, for example, H. Windisch, " Ἕλλην ," TDNT, II, pp. 511f.

[51] See, for example, O. Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," JBL 74 (1955):220-226; and Marcel Simon, St. Stephen and the Hellenists (London: Longmans, Green, 1958), esp. chap. I, pp. 1-19.

[52] See, for example, C. H. H. Scobie, "The Origin and Development of the Johannine Community," unpublished paper delivered to SBL Fourth Gospel Section, 31 October 1976, St. Louis, Mo., p. 10; and O. Cullmann, The Johannine Circle, trans. J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), pp. 41f. Cullmann does not even question the equation of "the Seven" with "the Hellenists"; and "Hellenist" is defined as "to 'live' (and even to 'think') in a Greek manner" (p. 41).

[53] See E. Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, trans. B. Noble et al. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), pp. 265-266.

[54] See E. Ferguson, "The Hellenists," p. 166. J. Munck (The Acts of the Apostles, Anchor Bible, rev. by W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann [Garden City: Doubleday, 1967], p. 57) adds that Greek names found on tombs in the area of Jerusalem show that Jewish families had members with both Greek and Jewish names.

[55] See, for example, J. Barr, "Which Language did Jesus Speak?--Some Remarks of a Semitist," BJRL 53 (1970-71):9-29; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.," CBQ 32 (1970):501-551; N. Turner, "Q in Recent Thought," Expository Times 80 (1968-69):324-328.

[56] R. H. Gundry, "The Language Milieu of First Century Palestine," JBL 83 (1964):405; cf. J. M. Grintz, "Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple," JBL 79 (1960):32-47.

[57] See Howard Marshall, "Palestinian and Hellenistic," p. 283.

[58] See Cullmann, The Johannine Circle, pp. 31-33; 50-53; and P. Geoltrain, "Esséniens et Hellénistes," Theologische Zeitung 15 (1959):250-251.

[59] Geoltrain, "Esséniens," p. 254.

[60] A. von Gall, Der hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner, 5 Teile (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1914-18).

[61] P. W. Skehan, "Exodus in the Samaritan Recension from Qumran," JBL 74 (1955):183.

[62] M. Black, "The Patristic Accounts of Jewish Sectarianism," BJRL 41 (1958-59):285-303.

[63] Ibid., p. 294.

[64] J. Thomas, Le Mouvement Baptiste en Palestine et Syrie (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1935).

[65] M. Black, "Patristic Accounts," pp. 292, 294.

[66] Ibid., p. 294.

[67] Ibid., p. 296.

[68] Ibid., p. 298.

[69] Ibid., p. 297. Italics added.

[70] Ibid.

[71] See J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans, p. 263.

[72] Black, "Patristic Accounts," p. 298.

[73] J. Bowman, "Ezekiel and the Zadokite Priesthood," p. 12.

[74] J. Bowman, "Is the Samaritan Calendar the Old Zadokite One?" Palestine Exploration Quarterly 91 (1959), esp. pp. 27, 31, 35.

[75] J. Bowman, "Contact between Samaritan Sects and Qumran," Vetus Testamentum 7 (1957):188-189.

[76] J. M. Ford, "Can We Exclude Samaritan Influence from Qumran?" Revue de Qumran 6 (1967):109.

[77] Ibid., p. 109 n.2.

[78] See J. M. Allegro (ed.), The Treasure of the Copper Scroll, 2nd ed. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), pp. 55, 58, 75-76, 77, 174, 186.

[79] Ford, "Can We Exclude," pp. 113-116.

[80] Ibid., p. 117; cf. Ezra 4.

[81] Ibid., pp. 121-123.

[82] Ibid., pp. 123-124.

[83] Ibid., p. 127. For a critical assessment of Black's and Ford's arguments, see R. Pummer, "The Present State of Samaritan Studies--II," Journal of Semitic Studies 22 (1977):35-41.

[84] J. Macdonald (trans. and ed.), Memar Marqah, Vol. II: The Translation (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1963), pp. 68-73; 113-138.

[85] Ford, "Can We Exclude," pp. 124-125.

[86] Ibid., p. 129.

[87] On "the Seven" as related to the "Seventy," see M. S. Enslin, "Luke and the Samaritans," HTR 36 (1943):282.

[88] Montgomery, The Samaritans, pp. 102-105.

[89] See T. H. Gaster, "Rites and Beliefs of the Samaritans Relating to Death and Mourning," Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society 19 (1939-40):195 n.28.

[90] For a comparison of the ages of the Patriarchs in the MT, SP, LXX, and Josephus, see B. Pick, "Article--II: Horae Samaritanae," Bibliotheca Sacra 33 (1876):269, 273.

[91] C. H. H. Scobie, "Origins and Development," pp. 393-394.

[92] Ibid., p. 395; cf. Macdonald, The Theology, p. 17.

[93] On the burial of Joseph in Shechem, see E. F. F. Bishop, "Some Relationships of Samaritanism with Judaism, Islam and Christianity," Moslem World 37 (1947):132.

[94] Scobie, "Origins and Development," p. 396; cf. also P. de Robert, "Les Samaritains et le Nouveau Testament," Etudes Théologiques et Religieuse 45 (1970):179-184; A. Spiro, "Stephen's Samaritan Background," appendix V, The Acts of the Apostles by J. Munck, Anchor Bible, eds. W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann (New York: Doubleday, 1967), pp. 285-300 (Spiro notes 14 points of agreement between Acts 7 and the SP, pp. 285-289); Paul Kahle, The Cairo Genizah (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 143-147; L. Gaston, "Stephen and the Temple," No Stone on Another (Leiden: Brill, 1970), pp. 154-161; M. H. Scharlemann, Stephen:

A Singular Saint (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968). (According to Scharlemann, Stephen is a Greek-speaking Jew from *Ephraim* where old traditions about Joseph, Moses, and Joshua lived on; cf. A. Spiro, *Samaritans, Tobiads and Judahites in Pseudo-Philo* [New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1951]).

See also, E. H. Plumptre, "The Samaritan Element in the Gospels and Acts," *The Expositor* 1st ser. 7 (1878):22-40, esp. 36-39; H. Hammer, *Traktat vom Samaritanermessias* (Bonn: C. Georgi, 1913), esp. chap. 8: "Die Zitate aus dem Pentateuch," pp. 32-39; Paul Kahle, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 88 (1915): 399-439, esp. 400-401; Max Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), p. 27; Robin Scroggs, "The Earliest Hellenistic Christianity," *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1968), pp. 196-197.

[95] On the *Standing* Son of Man in Acts 7 as a *Samaritan* tradition, see C. Colpe, " ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ," *TDNT*, VIII, p. 463.

[96] See on this, R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959), pp. 91-92; and G. Kretschmar, "Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Gnosis," *Evangelische Theologie* 13 (1953):354-361.

[97] J. Macdonald, "The Day of Judgment in Near Eastern Religions," *Indo-Iranica* 14 (1961):44-45.

[98] K. G. Kuhn (" προσήλυτος ," *TDNT*, VI, pp. 742-743) attempts to explain why Nicolaus is the only one called a proselyte with the argument that the rest of "the Seven" (including Stephen) were "Jews by descent." We think rather that the reason why he is differentiated has something to do with the Nicolaitians (Rev. 2:6,15), who associated themselves with him. Moreover, unlike Kuhn, we reject the assumption that *all* members of "the Seven" belonged to a single group, whether Jewish, Gentile, or Samaritan (see n. 109 below).

[99] J. D. Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans," *Novum Testamentum* 17 (1975):173.

[100] W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), p. 54.

[101] See F. M. Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of discoveries in the Judaean Desert," *HTR* 57 (1964): 281-299; idem, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, rev. ed. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961); idem, "The Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," *Israel Exploration Journal* 16

(1966):81-95; idem, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," 1972 Proceedings of International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, ed. Robert Kraft (Missoula: SBL, 1972), pp. 108-126.

[102] W. H. Mare, "Acts 7: Jewish or Samaritan in Character?" Westminster Theological Journal 34 (1971):1-21.

[103] Reinhard Pummer, "The Samaritan Pentateuch and the New Testament," NTS 22 (1976):441-443. See also his most recent article, "The Present State of Samaritan Studies: II," pp. 27-47; and Earl Richard, "Acts 7: An Investigation of the Samaritan Evidence," CBQ 39 (1977):190-208. Richard attempts to defend Mare's article (ibid., p. 195). Richard and Pummer are both disciples of Frank Cross, contra Paul Kahle and his disciples J. Bowman, J. Macdonald, A. D. Crown, et al. But the view of Purvis, who is a student of Cross, is inexplicable to Richard (ibid., p. 207).

[104] Ibid., p. 442.

[105] On the differences between these two textual theories, see J. D. Purvis, "Samaritan Pentateuch," IDB, suppl vol. V:772-775.

[106] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," pp. 174-175.

[107] Ibid., p. 174.

[108] Scobie, "North and South," p. 98; Cullmann, The Johannine Circle, pp. 54-55.

[109] So J. Munck, The Acts of the Apostles, p. 57. To use a contemporary analogy, it would be inconceivable, for example, in a modern labor-management dispute for the mediators to be composed entirely of either group.

[110] Spiro, "Stephen's Samaritan Background," pp. 292, 294.

[111] E. Trocmé, Le "Livre des Actes" et l'Histoire (Paris: P.U.F., 1957), pp. 190-191.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Note also in Ex. 1:22, 7:18 SP (as opposed to the MT), the addition of the words "to the Hebrews" and "of the Hebrews," respectively, among many other cases.

[114] Ferguson, "The Hellenists," p. 169; cf. M. H. Shepherd, Jr., "The Jews in the Gospel of John," Anglican Theological Review, supp. series, no. 3 (March 1974):97.

[115] Cf. Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, pp. xiii-xiv; and Donald E. Gowan, Bridge Between the Testaments (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1976), pp. 163-177; or any introductory work on the Samaritans.

[116] J. Macdonald, "The Discovery of Samaritan Religion," p. 147.

[117] For these quotes and further discussion, see J. Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans, p. 445. See also S. J. Isser, The Dositheans (Leiden: Brill, 1976), p. 142 n.54.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Scobie, "Origins and Development," p. 413.

[120] See Moses Gaster, The Asatir (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1927), pp. 158-163. According to J. Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans, p. 44, its date is unknown and "it is impossible even to date it to within a century or two of its composition." While Gaster dated it in the third century B.C., his son, Theodor, put it in the ninth century A.D.!

[121] Scobie, "Origins and Development," p. 412 n.4; cf. Justin, Dial. 34,2; 113, 4-5; 118, 2; and J. Freudenthal, Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Rest. jüdäischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke (Breslau: H. Skutsch, 1875); E. Schürer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886), Div. II, vol. III, pp. 210-211; E. R. Goodenough, By Light, Light (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), pp. 289-293.

[122] E. A. Knox, "The Samaritans and the Epistle to the Hebrews," Churchman [London] n.s. 41 (1927):184-193.

[123] R. J. F. Trotter, Did the Samaritans of the Fourth Century Know the Epistle to the Hebrews? (Leeds: Leeds University Oriental Society Monograph Series, No. 1, 1961). John Bowman in private correspondence tells us that much research is continuing on this subject.

[124] Knox, "The Samaritans," pp. 189, 191-192.

[125] See W. Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951), pp. 25-46; C. P. M. Jones, "The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Lucan Writings," Studies in the Gospels, ed. D . E. Nineham (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1955), pp. 122-124; J. W. Bowman, The Letter to the Hebrews (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1962), pp. 9-16. The last author argues that the

readers of Hebrews were "Hellenists" like "the Seven" of Acts 6:5-6 and were located in Sychar in Samaria!

[126] See O. Cullmann, "A New Approach to the Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel--II," Expository Times 71 (1959-60):40.

[127] Scobie, "Origins and Development," pp. 413-414.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid.

[131] The writings of Philo were perhaps known to the Samaritans since the Chronicler Abu'l Fatḥ refers to him in connection with Simon Magus and Stephen. (See J. Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, p. 137 n.9, for a translation of the passage in question.) The real problem, however, with Philo is the fact that he seems to be anti-Samaritan. Although we have not included him in our survey of the Leah/Rachel dichotomy (since he does not refer to the Samaritans by name), it is interesting that Philo clearly reflects the Judean side of the dichotomy. For example, Philo sharply contrasts Leah who is considered to be "virtue" (Leg. All. II,47; Mut. 132f.; Post. 134f.) with Rachel who is combatant (Cong. 25-32) and "sense perception" (Leg. All. II,46f.; Post. 135, 177-179; Ebr. 54; Sob. 12; Quis Her. 50f.; Mut. 96; Som. II,16). Like Rachel, Shechem is also connected with the passions (Leg. All. III,23-26). Philo also treats the patriarch Joseph unfavorably. It is intriguing, in light of the connection between Philip the Evangelist and the Ethiopian eunuch in Acts 8:26ff., that Philo says the "Joseph soul is an eunuch" (Quod Deus 10-15; Mig. 16; Quod Deus, 120; Agr. 56; Som. II,16). Like Rachel, Joseph is linked to the passions and body (Quod Deus III, 120; Som. II,65f.; Jos. 36). In his De Joseph., Joseph is praised (Jos. 1-4), but with regard to the soul, body, and externals, Joseph is connected with the lower two (Sob. 13; Mig. 22). Finally, in the light of our argument concerning the nomadic theology of the Samaritans and the fact that they called themselves "Hebrews," it is most interesting that according to Philo the word "Hebrew" means a "migrant" and Joseph was a Hebrew (Mig. XX,141f.).

[132] Scobie, "Origins and Development," pp. 413-414.

[133] Ibid., p. 399.

[134] In the words of E. W. Said, "Words derive meaning not from any intrinsic value a word carries inside itself, but from a double system of metaphor and metonymy that links words to each

other and gives the words fleeting intelligibility rather than detached permanence" (E. W. Said, "Abecedarium Culturae: Structuralism, Absence, Writing," Tri-Quarterly 20 [1971]:45-46).

[135] E. Ferguson, "The Hellenists," p. 169.

[136] E. Meletinsky et al., "Problems of the Structural Analysis of Fairytales," Soviet Structural Folkloristics, Vol. I, ed. P. Maranda (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), p. 120 n.19.

[137] S. Zeitlin, "The Sadducees and the Belief in Angels," JBL 83 (1964):68-69.

[138] Macdonald, "The Discovery," p. 150.

[139] J. Bowman, "Contact between Samaritan Sects and Qumran," pp. 188-189.

[140] Scobie, "Origins and Development," p. 400.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 182.

[143] M. Gaster, The Samaritan Oral Law and Ancient Traditions, Vol. I: Eschatology (London: The Search Publishing Co., 1932), pp. 22-24 n.15.

[144] Ford, "Can We Exclude," p. 112.

[145] For a complete list and citations from all the pertinent sources, see S. Isser, The Dositheans, pp. 35-36, 117.

[146] Ibid., pp. 47, 117.

[147] E. N. Adler and M. Séligsohn, "Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine," Revue des Études Juives 45 (1902):227.

[148] K. Kohler, "Dositheus, the Samaritan Heresiarch, and His Relations to Jewish and Christian Doctrines and Sects," American Journal of Theology 15 (1911):431; moreover, J. Bowman (The Samaritan Problem, p. 48) agrees with him.

[149] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 176.

[150] Macdonald, "The Discovery," p. 153 n.30.

[151] Ibid.

[152] See J. Macdonald (ed. and trans.), The Memar Margah, Vol. II, pp. 26 n.67, 27 n.74, 28 nn.78-79, 29 n.85, etc.

[153] Macdonald, "The Discovery," p. 149. J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans, p. 220, agrees with Macdonald on this point.

[154] See on these passages, H. A. Wolfson, "The Pre-Existent Angel of the Magharians and Al-Nahawandi," JQR 51 (1960-61):101; H. A. Wolfson, Philo (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), Vol. II, p. 64; L. Ginzberg, Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte (New York: Im Selbstverlage der Verfassers, 1922), pp. 246-249.

[155] See J. Bowman, "Is the Samaritan Calendar," p. 29.

[156] Ibid., p. 30.

[157] R. H. Charles, The Book of Jubilees (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.

[158] See J. Bowman, "Is the Samaritan Calendar," pp. 23-37.

[159] On this subject Ragnar Holte noted in his study of Justin Martyr's "Logos" concept that the angel of the revelation of God to Israel in Philo and Justin is clearly connected with the Logos. In his words, the "Logos is both God and angel" (Ragnar Holte, "Logos Spermatikos," Studia Theologica 12 [1958]:126-127). Thus it is conceivable that Stephen meant the Logos when he said an angel had given the Law to Moses! For a weak argument that the Logos doctrine originated from the Samaritans, see M. Heidenheim, "Zur Logoslehre der Samaritaner," Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für englisch-theologische Forschung und Kritik 4 (1868):126-128.

[160] For a translation of this passage, see J. Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, p. 137 n.9.

[161] See Robert Scholes, Structuralism in Literature (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 110.

[162] E. Meletinsky et al., "Problems of the Structural Analysis of Fairytales," p. 120 n.19.

[163] Ibid., p. 105. This discovery has proven to be extremely useful in studies of the cultural contexts of narratives. For example, Monique J. Layton has taken a collection of Breton Lays, and by studying the system of oppositions between their heroes and villains has discovered "what constitutes villainy for a certain group of people" (Monique J. Layton, "Semantic

Classification of Dramatis Personae in Some Breton Lays," Soviet Structural Folkloristics, ed. P. Maranda [The Hague: Mouton, 1974], p. 177).

[164] Meletinsky, "Problems," p. 94.

[165] The terms "helper," "opponent," etc., are taken from A. J. Greimas' schema of six actants which he developed from the seven listed by Propp (see chap. I, n.35 above). According to Greimas almost every narrative contains only six basic roles (or "actants"):

$$\begin{tikzcd}
\text{Sender} \arrow[r] & \text{Object} \arrow[r] & \text{Receiver} \\
\text{Helper} \arrow[r] & \text{Subject} \arrow[u] & \text{Opponent} \arrow[l]
\end{tikzcd}$$

For a complete discussion of what an "actant" is and how Greimas arrived at this paradigm, see C. Galland, "An Introduction to the Method of A. J. Greimas," The New Testament and Structuralism, ed. A. M. Johnson, Jr. (Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1976), pp. 7-9.

[166] Meletinsky, "Problems," p. 130.

[167] Ibid., pp. 100-101.

[168] On the importance of narrative beginnings for determining the structure of the whole work, see R. Barthes, "L'analyse structurale du récit. A propos d'Actes X-XI," Exégèse et Herméneutique, ed. X. Léon-Dufour (Paris: Seuil, 1971), p. 192.

[169] See e.g., J. A. T. Robinson, "The Destination and Purpose of St. John's Gospel," NTS 6 (1959-60):118, 128; E. C. Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, ed. F. N. Davey (London: Faber, 1942), p. 173; R. H. Lightfoot, St. John's Gospel, ed. C. F. Evans (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), p. 364; C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 143.

[170] M. de Jonge, "Jewish Expectations about the 'Messiah' according to the Fourth Gospel," NTS 19 (1972-1973):260.

[171] J. Vink, "A Note on 'the Jews' of St. John's Gospel," Life of the Spirit 15 (1960):259.

[172] F. C. Grant, The Gospel of John (New York: Harper & Row, 1936), vol. I, p. 7.

[173] Severino Pancaro, "'People of God' in St. John's Gospel," *NTS* 16 (1970):121-122.

[174] R. T. Fortna, "Theological Use of Locale in the Fourth Gospel," *Anglical Theological Review*, Supplementary Series, No. 3 (March 1974):90.

[175] J. W. Bowker, "The Origin and Purpose of St. John's Gospel," *NTS* 11 (1964-65):400.

[176] See, for example, K. Bornhäuser, *Das Johannesevangelium. Eine Missionsschrift für Israel* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1928; W. C. van Unnik, "The Purpose of St. John's Gospel," *Studia Evangelica*, eds. K. Aland et al. TU, 73 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959), pp. 382-411; J. A. T. Robinson, "The Destination," pp. 117-131.

[177] See, for example, C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John*, p. 21; idem, *The Gospel of John and Judaism*, trans. D. M. Smith (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), pp. 75-76; E. Grässer, "Die antijüdische Polemik im Johannesevangelium," *NTS* 11 (1964-65), pp. 74-90; 82-83; R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (i-xii)*, Anchor Bible (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), Vol. I, p. lxxviii; R. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John*, trans. K. Smyth (New York: Herder, 1968), Vol. I, pp. 153-172, esp. p. 154 n.1 and pp. 165-167; M. de Jonge, "Jewish Expectations," pp. 263-266; W. A. Meeks, "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism," *JBL* 91 (1972):67-72; and idem, "'Am I A Jew?'--Johannine Christianity and Judaism," *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1975), p. 180 nn. 62-64.

[178] Meeks, "'Am I A Jew?" p. 180.

[179] See, for example, E. C. Colwell, *John Defends the Gospel* (New York: Willett and Clark, 1936), p. 44.

[180] E. R. Leach, *Culture and Communication* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 67-68.

[181] See, for example, J. Jocz, "Die Juden im Johannesevangelium," *Judaica* 9 (1953):129-142; J. R. Michaels, "Alleged Anti-Semitism in the Fourth Gospel," *Gordon Review* 11 (1968):16, 18-19; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray et al. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), pp. 86-87, 282-283; E. Grässer, "Die antijüdische Polemik," pp. 75-76, 85, 88-90; J. A. T. Robinson, "The Destination," p. 120; R. H. Smith, "Exodus Typology in the Fourth Gospel," *JBL* 81 (1962):341; Francois Quiévreux, "'Les Juifs'dans le Quatrième Evangile," *Foi et Vie* 57 (1958):260-261; W. Gutbrod, "'Ιουδαῖος," TDNT, III, pp. 389-391.

[182] See, for example, E. L. Allen, "The Jewish Christian Church in the Fourth Gospel," *JBL* 74 (1955):89-92.

[183] See J. R. Michaels, "Alleged Anti-Semitism," pp. 17, 23.

[184] K. L. Carroll, "The Fourth Gospel and the Exclusion of Christians from the Synagogues," *BJRL* 40 (1957):19-32.

[185] See especially, J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 17-41; and R. Leistner, *Antijudaismus im Johannesevangelium?* (Bern: Lang, 1974), p. 12.

[186] G. J. Cuming, "The Jews in the Fourth Gospel," *Expository Times* 60 (1948-49):292.

[187] See W. A. Meeks, "Galilee and Judea in the Fourth Gospel," *JBL* 85 (1966):159-169; *Nelson's Bible Commentary* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Inc., 1962), vol. VI, p. 354; J. A. T. Robinson, "Destination," pp. 188f.

[188] C. Dekker, "Grundschrift und Redaktion im Johannesevangelium," *NTS* 13 (1966):66-80.

[189] W. Gutbrod, "'Ιουδαῖος ," pp. 369-391.

[190] Dekker, "Grundschrift," p. 70.

[191] J. R. Michaels, "Alleged Anti-Semitism," p. 17.

[192] For example, M. H. Shepherd, Jr., has argued that the Fourth Evangelist "was concerned with an internal problem within the Church itself--a form of 'judaizing' from certain Christians, whether of Jewish or Gentile extraction." More particularly, it was "a judaizing combined with docetic views about the person of Christ, and gnosticizing speculations. . . . Its origins appear to have been in Samaria and Egypt. . . ." Later, Shepherd identifies this as characteristic of Cerinthus (M. H. Shepherd, Jr., "The Jews in the Gospel of John," pp. 106-107). Wayne Meeks, however, describes this position much better when he notes that John "is indeed one of the most Jewish of the early Christian writings, even as it develops one of the most vehement anti-Jewish polemics in the first century." This existed, Meeks explains, because of "the diversity of Judaism in the first century" which is "a diversity still scarcely acknowledged" (W. A. Meeks, "'Am I A Jew?'" p. 185). Similarly, S. Schulz has argued that John's Gospel was not anti-Jewish but that "the Jews" in John are to be considered representative of a lax illegitimate Judaism. In other words, the Johannine community is a sectarian Judaism in conflict with Pharisaic

Judaism (S. Schulz, Komposition und Herkunft der Johanneischen Reden [Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1960), esp. pp. 184, 186-187). But these studies still do not attempt to identify the sectarian Judaism in question.

R. Leistner (Antijudaismus, p. 142) thinks that "the Jews" in John are actually the Sadducees who were responsible for Jesus' death. His explanation of the substitution of "the Jews" for them is that by the time John was written (probably ca. 80 A.D.) the Sadducees had disappeared with the destruction of Jerusalem and therefore John used the term "Jews" instead (ibid., pp. 135-148). Although Leistner's suggestion is untenable (see D. R. A. Hare, "Review of Leistner, Antijudaismus im Johannesevangelium," Religious Studies Review 2 [no. 3, 1976]:18-19), Leistner does seem to be on the right track when he notes that there is a schism in the Fourth Gospel between the true Israelites (Jn. 1:47) and "the Jews," and also when he suggests that the polemics of the Zadokite Qumran community against the Jerusalem priests is the origin of the anti-Judaism of John's Gospel (Leistner, Antijudaismus, p. 145).

[193] S. Schulz, Komposition, esp. pp. 184, 186-187.

[194] Leistner, Antijudaismus, pp. 135-148.

[195] See O. Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," pp. 221, 224; E. Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, pp. 260-261 n.3.

[196] Cullmann, "The Significance," p. 221; cf. O. Cullmann, "A New Approach to the Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel--I," Expository Times 71 (1959-60):11.

[197] Cullmann, "The Significance," p. 223.

[198] Ibid., pp. 217, 222.

[199] Ibid., p. 222.

[200] O. Cullmann, "A New Approach--I," p. 10. It is also used in his latest work, The Johannine Circle, p. 52.

[201] See Cullmann, The Johannine Circle, chap. 6.

[202] S. E. Johnson, "Notes on the Prophet-King in John," ATR 51 (1969):37; cf. R. T. Fortna, "Theological Use," p. 92.

[203] On our use of "helpers," see n. 165 above.

[204] Is it significant that Arimathea was a Samaritan town? (See the map in IDB, Supp. Vol. V:994).

[205] Dekker, "Grundschrift," p. 68.

[206] Buchanan, "The Samaritan Origin," p. 166; cf. J. Bowman, "Benjamin," p. 93; cf. p. 162.

[207] See J. Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans, pp. 16-17.

[208] Buchanan, "The Samaritan Origin," p. 166. Italics added.

[209] Ibid., p. 160; cf. Scobie, "Origins and Development," p. 407.

[210] For other studies of this passage, see H. Hegermann, "Er kam in sein Eigentum," Der Ruf Jesu und die Antwort der Gemeinde, ed. E. Lohse et al., Festschrift für J. Jeremias (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970), pp. 112-131; and R. F. Collins, "He Came to Dwell Among Us (Jn. 1:14)," Melita Theologica 28 (1976):45-59.

[211] On the "oneness" theme in the Fourth Gospel, see M. L. Appold, The Oneness Motif in the Fourth Gospel (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1976); J. F. Randall, The Theme of Unity in John XVII. 20-23 (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1965); T. E. Pollard, "'That They All May Be One' (John xvii.21) and the Unity of the Church," Expository Times 70 (1958-59):149-150; and J. L. D'Aragon, "La notion johannique de l'unite," Sciences Ecclésiastique 11 (1959):111-119. Appold's work is especially interesting in that the author uses what he calls a "motif analysis." It is actually a tradition-history approach which attempts to demonstrate the uniqueness of the "oneness motif" to the Fourth Gospel. Although this method is a branch of redaction criticism, there is some stylistic analysis in it as well.

[212] J. A. T. Robinson, "Destination," p. 128.

[213] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 172.

[214] See R. F. Collins, "The Representative Figures of the Fourth Gospel--I," Downside Review 94 (1976):38-40.

[215] John Bligh, "Jesus in Samaria," Heythrop Journal 3 (1962):330.

[216] David Deeks, "The Structure of the Fourth Gospel," NTS 15 (1969): esp. pp. 121-122, 126. For other structuralist studies of the Fourth Gospel, see D. Atai, Structure et Signification des

cinq premiers versets de l'hymne johannique au logos (Louvain: Editions Nauwelerts, 1972); H. Van den Bussche, "La structure de Jean I-XII. L'Évangile de Jean," *Recherches Bibliques*, III (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1958), pp. 61-109; Jean Delorme et al., "Analyse Narrative de Jean 18,1-2," *Sémiotique et Bible* 1 (1975):5-8; L. Dupont et al., "Recherche sur la structure de Jean 20," *Biblica* 54 (1973):482-498; J. Escande, "Jésus devant Pilate. Jean 18, 28-19,24," *Foi et Vie* 73 (1974):66-81; A. J. Festugière, *Observations stylistiques sur l'Evangile de S. Jean* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1974); André Feuillet, "The Structure of First John. Comparison with the Fourth Gospel. The Pattern of Christian Life," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 3 (1973):194-216; P. Geoltrain, "Les noces à Cana. Jean 2,1-12. Analyse des structures narratives," *Foi et Vie* 73 (1974):83-90; A. Janssens de Varebeke, "La structure des scenes du récit de la passion en Joh, XVIII-XIX," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 38 (1962): 504-522; X. Léon-Dufour, "Trois Chiasmes Johanniques," *NTS* 7 (1960-61):249-255; E. Malatesta, "The Literary Structure of John 17," *Biblica* 52 (1971):67-78, 190-214; B. M. Newman, Jr., "Some Observations Regarding the Argument, Structure and Literary Characteristics of the Gospel of John," *Bible Translator* 26 (1975): 234-239.

[217] W. A. Stevens, "Aenon Near to Salim," p. 141.

[218] M. de Jonge, "Jewish Expectations," p. 267.

[219] Dekker, "Grundschrift," p. 76.

[220] R. Meyer, " ὄχλος ," *TDNT*, V, p. 589. In the most recent study we could find of the 'Am ha-Areṣ and the Samaritans, Aharon Oppenheimer (*The 'Am Ha-aretz*, trans. I. H. Levine [Leiden: Brill, 1977], esp. pp. 229-238) concludes that the Samaritans were *not* 'Am Ha-aretz, although the Rabbis' attitude towards both of them was the same (ibid., p. 238).

[221] The symbol ⟹ in structural linguistics means "is (are) transformed into."

[222] Dekker, "Grundschrift," pp. 71-74.

[223] This statement by the narrator seems to make Jesus' brothers non-believers at best and his enemies at worst. It may simply be a result of the generally negative attitude towards "the Twelve" *and* Jerusalem (which according to Luke was the homebase of James and the Twelve). See also note 226 below.

[224] Dekker, "Grundschrift," p. 74.

[225] Meletinsky, "Problems," p. 107.

[226] See n. 223 above.

[227] Macdonald, "The Discovery," p. 107.

[228] J. Bowman, "Samaritan Studies," p. 307.

[229] Ibid., pp. 306-308.

[230] We say the only definitely "pre-Johannine" source because the Samaritan Pentateuch most certainly predates the Fourth Gospel.

[231] B. Pick, "Article II. Horae Samaritanae," Bibliotheca Sacra 33 (1876), p. 267.

[232] On the date of the Second Samaritan Chronicle, see n. 46 above.

[233] Macdonald and Higgins, "The Beginnings," p. 65. Higgins comments: "Verses 81-5 are remarkable. Such non-committal writing is not typical of the Samaritans. It is evident that the earlier source is expressing Samaritan non-participation in the condemnation of Jesus" (ibid., p. 55).

[234] Ibid., p. 73.

[235] See Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, p. 6.

[236] Macdonald and Higgins, "The Beginnings," p. 73 n.7.

[237] Scobie, "Origins and Development," p. 406.

[238] Macdonald and Higgins, "The Beginnings," p. 74 n.11.

[239] Jacob, "The Messianic Hope of the Samaritans," Open Court 20 (1907):279-280.

[240] W. Baldensperger, Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1898).

[241] See, for example, W. Wrede, Charakter und Tendenz des Johannesevangeliums (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1933); R. Schnackenburg, "Das vierte Evangelium und die Johannesjünger," Historische Jahrbuch 77 (1958):24-25; C. H. Dodd, Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 288; contra this view, cf. P. Vassiliadis, "To problēma tou Baptistē Iōanne sto D'Evangelio," Deltion Biblikon Meleton 4 (1976):99-116.

[242] E. Stauffer, "Probleme der Priestertradition," Theologische Literaturzeitung 81 (1956):143-144; Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, pp. 75-79. For Stauffer, however, the Baptist is not an Essene.

[243] J. A. T. Robinson, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community," HTR 50 (1957):175-191.

[244] C. H. H. Scobie, John the Baptist (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1964), chap. X.

[245] Georges Ory, Jean le Baptiseur, Cahiers du Cercle Ernest Renan, no. 11 (Paris: Cercle Ernest Renan, 1956); idem, La Samarie patrie d'un Messie, Cahiers du Cercle Ernest Renan, no. 11 (Paris: Ernest Renan, 1956).

[246] On the burial of John the Baptist in Samaria and the two churches built on the site, see A. Parrot, Samaria: The Capital of the Kingdom of Israel, trans. anony. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), pp. 122-127; and C. H. H. Scobie, John the Baptist, pp. 176-177.

[247] M. E. Boismard, "Les traditions johanniques concernant le Baptiste," Revue Biblique 70 (1963), p. 29.

[248] Macdonald and Higgins, "The Beginnings," pp. 65-66.

[249] As R. Bultmann (The Gospel of John, p. 105) notes, the reference to the ascent and descent of the angels is a clear reference to Jacob's dream. The term "guile" (δόλος) was also used in the O.T. to describe Jacob (Gen. 27:35), as many commentators note.

[250] Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans, pp. 328-330.

[251] On Nathanael as Paul see, Moritz Schwalb, Unsere vier Evangelien erklärt und kritisch geprüft (Berlin: C. Habel, 1885), pp. 358-360; U. Holzmeister, "Nathanael fuitne idem ac S. Bartholomaeus Apostolus?" Biblica 21 (1940):28-39; and O. Pfleiderer, Das Urchristenthum, seine Schriften und Lehren (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1887), p. 700 n. These scholars note the following "agreements" between Nathanael and Paul: Jn. 1:47--cf. 2 Cor. 11:22; Gal. 1:13f. ("an Israelite"); Jn. 1:47--cf. 1 Thess. 2:3 ("no guile"); Jn. 1:46--cf. Acts 22:8; 26:9 ("any good thing out of Nazareth"); Jn. 1:48--cf. Gal. 1:15 ("I saw thee"): Jn. 1:45--cf. Rom. 3:21 ("of whom Moses and the prophets did write"); Jn. 1:46--cf. 1 Cor. 9:1 ("come and see").

[252] See R. Schnackenburg, The Gospel according to St. John, I, p. 314; U. Holzmeister, "Nathanael fuitne," pp. 28-39.

[253] On this Samaritan Nathanael, the alleged author of the Samaritan Targum, see Georg Benedict Winer, De versionis Pentateuchi Samaritanae indole dissertatio critico-exegetica (Lipsiae: F. C. Vogel, 1817), p. 9; J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans, p. 292 n. 46; and A. E. Cowley, "Some Remarks on Samaritan Literature and Religion," JQR 8 (1896):564.

[254] On sitting under a "fig tree" as an allusion to common Rabbinic behavior, see R. Bultmann, The Gospel of John, p. 104 n. 6.

[255] S. Isser, The Dositheans, p. 5. All these names mean "God gives" or "God has given." This writer has been looking for an article on the semiotics of biblical names without success. The best we have been able to locate is J. Barr, "The Symbolism of Names in the Old Testament," BJRL 52 (1969-70):11-29. However, Barr does not deal with the problem of equivalent names or variant spellings of the same name as found in the early Jewish and Christian writings.

[256] As far as we have been able to determine, the first and only scholar to argue that Nathanael in John may have been the Samaritan heresiarch Dositheus is R. Eisler, "Das Rätsel des Johannesevangeliums," Eranos-Jahrbuch 3 (1935):476-485. See S. J. Isser, The Dositheans, for the most thorough discussion of the Dositheans published to date. John Bowman at one time thought that the Fourth Gospel was written for the Dositheans (The Samaritan Problem, p. 142 n. 57), but in his later book on John (The Fourth Gospel and the Jews [Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1975]) he does not mention this hypothesis at all.

[257] On this point, E. Leach (Genesis as Myth [London: Jonathan Cape, 1969], p. 34) notes: " . . . if two Biblical stories refer to individuals or places of the same name (or very similar names) in different contexts of time and place the historian will assume that two quite different 'real entities' are to be distinguished. For the structuralist on the other hand the fact that the same name crops up in two different places is of significance in itself in that it suggests a link between the two stories. He is then immediately led to consider whether or not the two stories are associated in other ways also."

[258] See J. Bowman (trans. and ed.), Samaritan Documents Relating to Their History, Religion and Life (Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1977), pp. 44, 67, 79, 80, 82, 83, 91, 98, 137-139, 158, 167, 193-194, 202, 206. Although the name "Nathanael" seldom appears in the Rabbinic literature, it is present in the O.T. (Num. 1:8; Ezra 10:22; 1 Chron. 2:14).

[259] Shepherd, "The Jews," p. 100 n. 19.

[260] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," pp. 191-192.

[261] Ibid., p. 192.

[262] Ibid., p. 193.

[263] Ibid., p. 194.

[264] Ibid., pp. 195-196; and R. H. Strachan, The Fourth Gospel: Its Significance and Environment, rev. 3rd ed. (London: SCM, 1941), p. 214.

[265] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 197.

[266] Ibid.

[267] See Acts 8:9f.; Ps. Clem. Hom. II,24; Recog. II,11; Origen, Contra Cels. VII,8f.; Jerome, Commen. Matt., 24 (P.L. 26, cols. 182-183). As B. W. Bacon notes, the only other place where these "ego eimi proclaimers" are most conspicuous is Phrygia in Asia Minor (Eusebius, H.E. V,16,17) (see B. W. Bacon, "The Authoress of Revelation--A Conjecture," HTR 23 [1930]:248).

[268] D. M. Smith, "Johannine Christianity," NTS 21 (1974-75):244; and Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 197.

[269] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 175.

[270] See, for example, P. Parker, "Luke and the Fourth Evangelist," NTS 9 (1962-63):321-336; F. C. Grant, "Was the Author of John Dependent upon the Gospel of Luke?" JBL 56 (1937): 285-307; E. Osty, "Les Points de Contact entre le Récit de la Passion dans Saint Luc et Saint Jean," Recherches de Science Religieuse 39 (1951):146-154; P. Parker, "The Kinship of John and Acts," Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 187-205; P. Parker, "Mark, Acts, and Galilean Christianity," NTS 16 (1970):295-304.

[271] See M. E. Boismard, "L'evolution du thème eschatologique dans les traditions johanniques," Revue Biblique 68 (1961):507-524; idem, "Saint Luc et la rédaction du quatrième évangile," Revue Biblique 69 (1962):185-211.

[272] J. Epstein, "The Roots of Religious Prejudice," Journal of Ecumenical Studies 5 (1968):699.

[273] Parker, "Mark, Acts," pp. 296, 300.

[274] Parker, "Luke and the Fourth Gospel," p. 318.

[275] R. M. Grant, "The Origin of the Fourth Gospel," *JBL* 69 (1950):318-319.

[276] Scobie, "Origins and Developments," p. 408.

[277] E. D. Freed, "Samaritan Influence in the Gospel of John," *CBQ* 30 (1968):586-587.

[278] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 175. Italics added.

[279] A similar schema to the one we have proposed concerning the synagogue is noted by W. Schrage, "συναγωγή ," *TDNT*, VII, p. 835 n. 236, which he sees as valid for Paul's encounters with the synagogue: (1) "contact with the synagogue," (2) "success of preaching there," (3) "envy of the Jews," (4) "persecution and expulsion" (cf. Acts 9:20ff.; 13:44ff.; 14:1ff.).

[280] K. L. Carroll, "The Fourth Gospel," pp. 19-20.

[281] Leon Morris, *The New Testament and the Jewish Lectionaries* (London: Tyndale Press, 1964), p. 63.

[282] Cullmann, "A New Approach--II," p. 41. Italics added.

[283] Ibid. Italics added.

[284] On the Samaritan "tabernacle theology," see Trotter, *Did the Samaritans*, pp. 17, 18, 27; Macdonald, *Theology of the Samaritans*, p. 445; P. Kahle, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte," pp. 401-402; idem, *The Cairo Genizah*, p. 147; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), pp. 185-186.

[285] See J. Bowman, *The Samaritan Problem*, pp. 34-41.

[286] On this term, see O. Michel, " ναός," *TDNT*, IV, pp. 880-890.

[287] See on this connection in Rev. 15:5; 21:3; cf. 7:15, W. Michaelis, " σκηνή ," *TDNT*, VII, p. 377.

[288] J. Macdonald, "The Day of Judgment," p. 41.

[289] Bowman, "Early Samaritan Eschatology," pp. 63-64. The Jews, however, have similar legends (cf. *Tos. Sotah* 13,1).

[290] Collins, "The Hidden Vessels," pp. 97-116.

[291] On the tabernacle theology in the Book of Hebrews, see Michaelis, " σκηνή ," pp. 374-377.

[292] Cullmann, "A New Approach--II," p. 42. Cullmann adds that Schaeder suggested that the word for "tabernacled" (ἐσκήνωσεν) in Jn. 1:14 has the same consonants as those for the Hebrew word "shekinah" (שכינה), see R. Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland* (Lepizig: B. G. Tuebner, 1926), p. 318.

[293] W. A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King* (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

[294] See especially, A. Merx, *Der Messias oder Taheb der Samaritaner* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1909); Moses Gaster, "Review of A. Merx's *Der Messias oder Ta'eb der Samaritaner*," *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology*, 3 vols. (New York: Ktav, 1928), vol. I, pp. 638-648; idem, *Samaritan Oral Law*, pp. 221-277. For more recent studies, see J. Macdonald, "The Samaritan Doctrine of Moses," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 13 (1960):149-162; J. Bowman, "Early Samaritan Eschatology," pp. 63-72; R. M. Grant, "The Origin of the Fourth Gospel," pp. 318-319; O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, trans. S. C. Guthrie and C. A. M. Hall (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959), pp. 36-37; T. F. Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel* (London: Allenson, 1963), pp. 27-32; J. Jeremias, "Μωυσῆς ," pp. 872-873; F. Hahn, "The Eschatological Prophet," *The Titles of Jesus in Christology* (London: Lutterworth, 1969), pp. 352-406; Martyn, *History and Theology*, pp. 122-125; A. D. Crown, "New Light on the Inter-Relationship of Samaritan Chronicles," *BJRL* 54 (1971-72):282-313; Collins, "The Hidden Vessels," pp. 97-116; J. D. Purvis, "Samaritan Traditions on the Death of Moses," *Studies on the Testament of Moses, Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. G. W. Nickelsburg (Cambridge: *SBL*, 1973), pp. 93-117.

[295] B. Vawter, "Some Recent Developments in Johannine Theology," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 1 (1971):42.

[296] R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, p. 89 n.5. Bultmann states, "In Judaism the expectation of the 'prophet' is not attested." Jeremias (" Μωυσῆς ," *TDNT*, IV:857-858) *thinks* the messianic interpretation of Deut. 18:15,18 *may* have existed in Judaism, but the messianic prophet is not attested. M. Black ("Servant of the Lord and Son of Man," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 6 [1953]:3) makes similar pleas. But see Bowman, "Samaritan Studies," p. 313 n.3.

[297] See A. D. Crown, "Dositheans, Resurrection, and a Messianic Joshua," *Antichthon* 1 (1967-68):70-85.

[298] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, pp. 228-231, discusses the relationship between Moses and Joseph in Samaritan traditions briefly, but he does not discuss the Messiah Son of Joseph in relationship to the Fourth Gospel.

[299] Jacob, "The History and Religion of the Samaritans," p. 393.

[300] W. E. Barton, "The Samaritan Messiah," *Open Court* 21 (1908):529; cf. Jacob, "The Messianic Hope," p. 276.

[301] Macdonald and Higgins, "The Beginnings," p. 59.

[302] According to Gerald J. Bildstein ("Messiah," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* [Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971], Vol. XI, p. 1411) the earliest references to a Messiah Son of Joseph are in T. B. Sukkah 52a and the Targums Pseudo-Jonathan Ex. 40:11; Pesh. Song 4:5; 7:4. The Jerusalem Targum on Num. 11:23 should be added to these references. Two of the best discussions on this subject in English are J. Klausner, "Messiah ben Joseph and the War with Gog and Magog," *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, trans. W. F. Stinespring (New York: Macmillan, 1955), pp. 483-501 (see also ibid., pp. 11, 129, 204, 343, 375, 400-401, 520-521; and S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, trans. G. W. Anderson [New York: Abingdon, 1954], pp. 285-291, 314-315, 325-328).

[303] Markus Barth, *The Calling of the Disciples: John 1:35-51*, typescript, University of Chicago, 1961, pp. 17-20.

[304] J. Jeremias, "παῖς θεοῦ," *TWNT*, V:685 n.243.

[305] J. Jeremias, "παῖς θεοῦ," *TDNT*, V:687 n.241.

[306] Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, p. 290 (on p. 314 Mowinckel connects the Messiah ben Joseph with the Son of Man); R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews*, p. 146; Leonhard Bertholdt, *Christologia Ivdaeorvm Iesv apostolorvmqve aetate in compendivm redacta* (Erlangen: I. I. Palm, 1811), pp. 75-81; A. von Gall, *Βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie zur vorkirklichen Eschatologie* (Heidelberg: Winters, 1926), p. 388; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1909), pp. 264-266.

[307] Cited by J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 248; cf. p. 245 n.162.

[308] H. G. Kippenberg, *Garizim und Synagoge* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1971), pp. 234ff.

[309] Ibid., pp. 262-264.

[310] Ibid., p. 303.

[311] Ibid., p. 310.

[312] Bowman, "Benjamin and Amalek," pp. 92-93. Other scholars have also attempted to interpret this messiah as Jewish in origin. J. Klausner, for example, argues that the Jews had two messiahs--an "earthly" Messiah ben Joseph and a "spiritual" Messiah ben David. He adds that the former is reflected in Mtt. 24:30; Jn. 19:37; and Rev. 1:7 (Klausner, "Messiah ben Joseph," pp. 11, 204). Similarly Strack-Billerbeck (II, pp. 292-299) states that the Messiah ben Joseph was created by scribal interpretations of Deut. 33:17. C. R. North, however, thinks he originated from interpretations of the "Suffering Servant" of Second Isaiah (C. R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah: An Historical and Critical Study* [London: Oxford University Press, 1948], pp. 15ff.). C. C. Torrey, who wrote one of the most interesting articles on this Messiah ben Joseph, also attempted to find him in Isa. 53 as well as in 2 Esdras 7:28-31; 2 Bar. 29,30,40; I Enoch 90:38; Dan. 9:24-27; and Zech. 12:9-11 (C. C. Torrey, "The Messiah Son of Ephraim," *JBL* 66 [1947]:253-277). Finally, Mowinckel thinks the Messiah ben Joseph was connected to Zech. 12:10--"him whom they have pierced"--which is also an important Passion theme for the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 19:34) (Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, p. 326).

[313] See n. 301 above. For a discussion of these sources, see F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften*, herausgegeben von Fr. Delitzsch und G. Schnedermann, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Dörffling, 1897), pp. 362-364.

[314] On the appearance of Gog in the Asatir as connected with the anti-Christ, see M. Gaster, *The Asatir*, pp. 90-91.

[315] J. Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, pp. 366-367.

[316] Buchanan, "The Samaritan Origin," p. 160; cf. R. H. Charles, *Eschatology* (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), p. xii.

[317] On the problem of dating the Memar Marqah, see n. 33 above.

[318] Buchanan, "The Samaritan Origin," p. 160.

[319] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," pp. 178-179.

[320] Once again in the High Priest's statement there is an allusion to Jesus' saving the *whole* nation (ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος). In the very next two verses (11:52-53) the High Priest states that Jesus' death will bring about a reunification not only of the Jews but of all the children of God who have been "scattered abroad." This may be only a reference to the Jewish diaspora, but is it not just as legitimate to see in this statement a reference to the ten lost tribes of Israel?

[321] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 191.

[322] S. E. Johnson, "The Davidic-Royal Motif in the Gospels," *JBL* 87 (1968):139-140.

[323] W. A. Meeks, "Galilee and Judea," p. 159.

[324] Bowman, "Samaritan Studies," p. 308.

[325] B. P. Robinson, "Christ as a Northern Prophet in St. John," *Scripture* 17 (1965):104-108; and Buchanan, "The Samaritan Origin," pp. 166-173.

[326] R. E. Brown, "Jesus and Elisha," *Perspective* 12 (1971): 94.

[327] Ibid., p. 103 n. 31.

[328] Harald Sahlin, *Zur Typologie des Johannesevangeliums* (Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistaska Bokhandeln, 1950); J. J. Enz, "The Book of Exodus as a Literary Type for the Gospel of John," *JBL* 76 (1957):208-215; R. H. Smith, "Exodus Typology in the Fourth Gospel," *JBL* 81 (1962):329-342; F. M. Braun, "L'évangile de saint Jean et les grandes traditions d'Israel," *Revue Thomiste* 59 (1959):421-450; 60 (1960):165-184, 325-363; T. F. Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel* (London: SCM, 1963).

[329] Bowman, "Samaritan Studies," pp. 313-314.

[330] Ibid., p. 302.

[331] E. D. Freed, "Did John Write His Gospel Partly to Win Samaritan Converts?" *Novum Testamentum* 12 (1970):244.

[332] J. Bowman, "Did the Qumran Sect Burn the Red Heifer?" *Revue de Qumran* 1 (1958):78-79.

[333] J. L. Fischer, "The Sociopsychological Analysis of Folktales," *Current Anthropology* 4 (1963):264 (summarizing C. Lévi-Strauss, "The Story of Asdiwal," *The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism*, ed. E. R. Leach [London: Tavistock, 1967], pp. 1-48).

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[334] Heda Jason, "A Multidimensional Approach to the Study of Oral Literature," Current Anthropology 10 (1969):417.

[335] Ibid.

[336] For Roland Barthes' definition of an index, see R. Barthes, "An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative," New Literary History 6 (1975):246-247. See also A. W. Burks, "Icon, Index, and Symbol," Philosophy and Phenomenological Research 9 (1949):673-689.

[337] E. Leach, Culture and Communication, pp. 52, 54.

[338] J. Wellhausen, Das Evangelium Johannis (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1908), p. 125.

[339] C. C. Torrey, "The Aramaic Origin of the Gospel of John," HTR 16 (1923):309.

[340] B. W. Bacon, The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate (New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1910), pp. 385-411. A slightly modified version of this thesis also appears in his The Gospel of the Hellenists, ed. C. H. Kraeling (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1933), pp. 397-398, 408-409.

[341] K. L. Schmidt, Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu (Berlin: Trowitzsch und Sohn, 1919), esp. pp. 17, 91.

[342] K. Kundsin, Topologische Überlieferungsstoffe im Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925).

[343] Ibid., p. 50.

[344] Ibid., pp. 22-25, 28f., 35, 39f., 50, 52f., 69-71, 76f.

[345] E. Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936).

[346] See also E. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953).

[347] Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem, pp. 39-41.

[348] See, for example, C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 453; idem, Historical Tradition, p. 238 n.1; 244-247; P. Parker, "John and John Mark," JBL 79 (1960):97; M. H. Shepherd, Jr., "Are Both the Synoptics and John Correct about the Date of Jesus' Death?" JBL 80 (1961):128; J. A. T. Robinson, "Destination," p. 116; idem, "The

Baptism of John," p. 190; B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), pp. 416-419; J. W. Bowker, "The Origin and Purpose of St. John's Gospel," *NTS* 11 (1965):399; C. H. H. Scobie, "Origin and Development," p. 6; and finally, J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), pp. 254-316, esp. p. 303.

[349] Donald Guthrie, *The New Testament: Introduction* (Downers Grove, Ill.: Intervarsity Press, 1970), p. 226 n.4.

[350] A. Wind, "Destination and Purpose of the Gospel of John," *Novum Testamentum* 14 (1972):52.

[351] Actually the word "Galilee" occurs more times in John (17) than Matthew (16), Mark (12), or Luke (13). The word "Galilean(s)" occurs only once in John, but it also appears only five times in Luke, once in Matthew, and once in Mark!

[352] See Scobie, "Origin and Development," p. 5.

[353] G. J. Cuming, "The Jews," p. 292.

[354] Martyn, *History and Theology*, p. 58.

[355] See T. A. Van Dijk, "On the Foundations of Poetics," *Poetics* 5 (1972):89ff.

[356] W. H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," *Interpretation* 9 (1955):71-72.

[357] See Howard Marshall, "Palestinian and Hellenistic," pp. 274-275. For the biblical basis, cf. Isa. 9:1; Mtt. 4:15; 1 Macc. 5:15.

[358] See, for example, S. Zeitlin, "Who were the Galileans?" *JQR* 64 (1973-74):189-203.

[359] W. A. Meeks, "Galilee and Judea," pp. 159-169; cf. Dodd, *Historical Tradition*, pp. 233-247.

[360] Meeks, "Galilee and Judea," p. 159. Italics added.

[361] Ibid., p. 163.

[362] For an excellent study of Jesus' "remaining" in John, see Jürgen Heise, *Bleiben. Menein in den Johanneischen Schriften* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1967).

[363] Meeks, "Galilee and Judea," pp. 167-169. D. L. Mealand ("The Language of Mystical Union in the Johannine Writings,"

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Downside Review 95 [1977]:19-34) adds that the "tabernacling of God" also lies behind John's use of the idea of mutual indwelling.

[364] Meeks, "'Am I A Jew?'" p. 82; cf. also his "Galilee and the Fourth Gospel" in The Prophet-King, pp. 35-41; 313-318.

[365] R. T. Fortna, "Theological Use," pp. 84-85.

[366] Ibid., p. 86.

[367] Ibid., pp. 88-89.

[368] For a definition and discussion of "connotations" in structural analysis, see F. Guenthner, "Review of R. Barthes' S/Z," Poetics 1 (1971):114; or the glossary in our The New Testament and Structuralism, pp. 261-262.

[369] R. Barthes, "L'analyse structurale," pp. 192-193.

[370] Eusebius, Das Onomastikon der Biblischen Ortsnamen, ed. E. Klostermann (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1966). This is the edition we shall use in the citations to follow.

[371] C. K. Barrett, The Gospel according to St. John, p. 102.

372Père Lagrange, L'Évangile selon S. Jean (Paris: Gabalda, 1925), p. cxxiv.

[373] See Eusebius, Das Onomastikon, p. 164 (line 1).

[374] Ibid., p. 58 (line 16).

[375] Ibid., pp. 114 (line 20); 116 (line 4).

[376] Ibid., p. 58 (line 11).

[377] Ibid., p. 40 (line 1).

[378] Ibid., p. 58 (line 21).

[379] Ibid., p. 90 (line 18).

[380] Ibid., pp. 119 (line 8); 174 (line 26).

[381] R. D. Potter, "Topography and Archaeology in the Fourth Gospel," Studia Evangelica, eds. K. Aland et al., TU, 73 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959), pp. 329-337; see esp. pp. 331, 333.

[382] See L. Marin, "The Women at the Tomb"; idem, "Jesus before Pilate"; and C. Chabrol, "An Analysis of the 'Text' of the Passion"

(all of which appear in our The New Testament and Structuralism, pp. 75-96, 97-144, and 145-186, respectively); and L. Marin, Sémiotique de la Passion (Paris: Cerf, 1971).

[383] See L. Marin, "Jesus before Pilate," p. 139.

[384] Kundsin, Topologische, pp. 69-71.

[385] B. P. Robinson, "Christ as a Northern Prophet," p. 106.

[386] P. Parker, "Bethany beyond Jordan," JBL 74 (1955):257-261.

[387] Fortna, "Theological Use," p. 67 n. 33.

[388] David C. Bennett, "Some Observations Concerning the Locative-Directional Distinction," Semiotica 5 (1972):58-88.

[389] Ibid., p. 65.

[390] M. E. Boismard, Du Baptême à Cana (Jean 1:1-2:11) (Paris: Cerf, 1956), p. 38f.

[391] T. Barrosse, "The Seven Days of the New Creation in St. John's Gospel," CBQ 21 (1959):508.

[392] See chap. II, p. 55 above.

[393] See J. Boehmer, "Studien zur Geographie Palästinas bes. im Neuen Testament," ZNW 9 (1908):216-229.

[394] Memar Marqah, IV,3; Jacob, "Mount Gerizim the One True Sanctuary," Bibliotheca Sacra 64 (1907):489-518; Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans, p. 328; cf. J. Bowman, "The Samaritans and the Book of Deuteronomy," Transactions of the Glasgow University Society 17 (1957-58):13f.

[395] E. F. F. Bishop, "Some Relationships," p. 117. Italics added.

[396] Bowman, "The Samaritans and the Book of Deuteronomy," p. 14.

[397] On the relationship between Shechem and Mt. Moriah, see Eduard Nielsen, Shechem: A Traditio-Historical Investigation, pp. 333f.

[398] Jacob, "Mt. Gerizim," pp. 489-518. The death and burial of Enoch near Mt. Gerizim is described in great detail in the Asatir II, 32-40. Mt. Gerizim is also said by the Asatir

(V, 2-7) to be the place where the Tower of Babel was built. Jerome reports (Epistola CVIII, P. L. 22, col. 888) that the Lady Paula visited the church built over Jacob's Well, and said that she saw there the "tombs of the twelve Patriarchs" (cf. Acts 7:16).

[399] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 171.

[400] The reason why biblical scholars in the past have refused to consider Aenon near Salim to be in Samaria is their belief that this would contradict the Synoptic accounts where the Baptist works in the South near the Dead Sea. For example, see J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans, p. 160 n. 18 where he makes just this argument.

[401] See R. D. Potter, "Topography," p. 333, for a discussion of the different Samaritan sites proposed.

[402] W. A. Stevens, "Aenon Near to Salem," pp. 128-141.

[403] Ibid., p. 129.

[404] Ibid., p. 133.

[405] Melchizedek is mentioned in the Samaritan Asatir (VII, 17-19) where he is also connected with "Shalem the Great"(cf. also Josephus, Ant. I,10,2 and Eusebius, Prep. Evang. IX, 17, 418ff. [P. G. 21, cols. 706-710]). On the new text on Melchizedek at Qumran (11Q Melch.), see M. Delcor, "Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews," Journal for the Study of Judaism 2 (1971):115-135; J. A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11," JBL 86 (1967):25-41; J. A. Sanders, "Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon," McCormick Quarterly 21 (1968):284-298; and on Jn. 10:34-36 and Melchizedek, see J. A. Emerton, "Melchizedek and the Gods: Fresh Evidence for the Jewish Background of John X.34-36," JTS 17 (1966):399-401.

[406] Stevens, "Aenon Near to Salim," pp. 136-137, citing Neubauer, Samaritan Chronicle; and Conder, Palestine Exploration Fund Special Papers, p. 230. We have attempted to locate these last two references, but we were unsuccessful because Stevens did not give us enough information to locate them.

[407] Ibid., p. 135.

[408] Ibid., p. 135, 138.

[409] Fortna, "Theological Use," p. 71.

[410] In Potter's words, "No passage could show better that our author knew this bit of Samaria well" (Potter, "Topography," p. 33). For an excellent discussion and map of Askar, Sichem, Nablus, Joseph's grave, and Jacob's Well, see Hans-Martin Schenke, "Jakobs-brunnen--Josephsgrab--Sychar," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästinavereins* 84 (1968):159-184, esp. pp. 163 and 171.

[411] Bishop, "Some Relationships," p. 112.

[412] Dekker, "Grundschrift," p. 66, places it North of Jericho in Judea; cf. L. H. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible* (New York: Nelson, 1956).

[413] Fortna, "Theological Use," p. 80.

[414] J. Bowman, "Benjamin and Amalek," p. 89.

[415] E. D. Freed, "Samaritan Influence," pp. 580-582.

[416] See Kundsin, *Topologische*, pp. 46-49. He also discusses the pools of Bethesda and Siloam, the Temple treasury, Solomon's Portico, and finally the scenes of the Passion itself (pp. 34-35).

[417] See J. Willemse, "La Patrie de Jesus selon Saint Jean IV.44," *NTS* 11 (1964-65):349-350.

[418] Ibid., pp. 350-353; cf. R. L. Sturch, "The 'ΠΑΤΡΙΣ' of Jesus," *JTS* 28 (1977):94-96.

[419] Ibid., pp. 353-354.

[420] Ibid., pp. 354-355.

[421] Ibid., pp. 355, 364.

[422] B. W. Bacon, "Jesus' 'Native Place' in John," *The Expositor* 8th ser. 23 (1922):41-46.

[423] Meeks, "Galilee and Judea," p. 165.

[424] C. Galland, "Esäie 53," *Actes de la XVe Assemblée Générale de la F.P.F.*, Paris (Nov. 8-11, 1975)--Special No. of *Bulletin. Centre Protestant d'Etudes et de Documentation*, Feb. 1976, pp. 89-90.

[425] S. Chatman, "Towards a Theory of Narrative," *New Literary History* 6 (1975):304-315.

[426] See F. Quiévreux, "'Les Juifs' dans le Quatrieme Evangile," Foi et Vie 57 (1958):256-257; cf. Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 170; E. Freed, "Did John," p. 243; Scobie, "Origins and Development," pp. 403-404.

[427] Fortna, "Theological Use," p. 83.

[428] Ibid., p. 82.

[429] Ibid., p. 68; cf. D. Flusser, Jesus (New York: Herder, 1969), p. 31.

[430] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 170.

[431] Meeks, "Galilee and Judea," p. 168.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

A. Criteria for the Location of the Johannine Circle

Scobie has written that the location of the Johannine community "geographically and chronologically, historically and theologically--within the early Christian church" is "the great unsolved problem in Johannine studies with which almost all other problems are closely linked."[1] As has been seen, on this issue scholars have been deeply divided. Bauer, Bultmann, Jülicher, Fischer, Burney, Schweizer, and Haenchen chose Syria because of John's similarities with the Odes of Solomon.[2] Cullmann in his Johannine Circle says Syria is possible, but he prefers Transjordan, suggesting that the community moved there from Palestine after 70 A.D.[3] Bretschneider, A. M. Perry, J. N. Sanders, and K. Lake prefer Alexandria.[4]

On the other hand, most scholars are agreed that the Johannine community was separated from the mainstream of early Christianity, and probably existed in a rather remote, "off-the-beaten-track" place, which contained Christians later branded heretics.[5] As has been shown, Samaria fits these criteria.

B. W. Bacon suggested that the Fourth Gospel originated at a time when each regional church had only one written Gospel at its disposal, i.e., its own.[6] If this is correct, signs of that community could be expected to be found in the Fourth Gospel. As has been argued, most of these signs point to a Samaritan community perhaps allied in some way with Galilee.

As C. C. Torrey noted, one of the major reasons scholars in the past wanted to pick Ephesus, Antioch, Syria, or Alexandria was "the way in which he [John] seems to stand apart from, if not at a distance from, 'the Jews.'"[7] However, again as has been shown, it is not necessary to leave Palestine to find people who considered themselves irreparably separated from "the Jews." Indeed, the sociological and polemical opposition of the Samaritan community towards those Judeans and Galileans who worshipped at Jerusalem appears to be identical to that expressed in the Fourth Gospel itself.

In a structural analysis of the narratives of Jesus' Passion, based on A. J. Greimas, Gerard Bucher describes Jesus as the "actant"[8] who represented "the mediator 'par excellence,'" because he "appears simultaneously as God before man and man before God."[9] It could be added that in the Fourth Gospel Jesus is not only the mediator between Man and God, but also between Judah and Israel, just as Nicodemus appears as a mediator between Jesus and the Jerusalem authorities.

B. Evaluation of the Main Thesis

Throughout Chapter IV an attempt has been made to isolate certain oppositions which may be considered to be outside time or synchronic, i.e., North/South, Israel/Judah, Tabernacle/Temple, etc. The advantage of presenting such a "structural history" is its ability to simplify a vast amount of information, and, "Once such a set of coordinates has been laid out, it also becomes possible to compare thinkers and note their predominant biases."[10] Hence these oppositions have been traced throughout the O.T. and N.T. from the Pentateuch through the Prophets to Stephen and the Fourth Gospel itself. The result has been the demonstration that the Fourth Gospel has a predominant Samaritan or Israelite bias.

However, like all other methods, this one has its weaknesses which the Swiss "Geneva School" structuralist Jean Starobinsky has stated:

> . . . while it is true that a text cannot avoid including something of the society in which it originates, one should not conclude from this that this element always plays the principal role and determines the meaning of the text in question; on the other hand, if it is true that society surrounds and pervades the work, it would be wrong to state that the work does not deviate from it to some degree.[11]

Thus even now it cannot be said that it has been proven that the Johannine circle was Samaritan and located in Samaria. Indeed the probability is that the group included persons from other groups such as Nicodemus, the group around Lazarus, and some Judeans and Galileans. Indeed, Meeks thinks that the Samaritans in the Johannine community were secondary to the Galileans, and he cites the use of the word "messiah" (Jn. 4:25) to refer to the Taheb, and the fact that there is no evidence the Samaritans used the term "messiah" eschatologically before the sixteenth century.[12] Unlike Meeks, Purvis does not consider the Galileans to be as important as the Samaritans in the Johannine group, but he adds that the same mistake of considering the Jews as a monolithic group, as was done in the era of so-called "normative Judaism," should also not be made with respect to the Samaritans. In sum, it should not be assumed that Samaritan theology was "fairly uniform" in the first century.[13] However, with this caveat, Purvis concludes that "a good case can be made for viewing the development of the Johannine Christology in a Palestinian Christian Community which regarded itself as alienated from the spiritual traditions of Jerusalem . . ." They saw Jesus as a "Jew who had been rejected by his own people." From this it follows that "there is sufficient evidence to identify Samaria, or perhaps Samaria-Galilee as the locale in which the community was centered."[14]

Scobie, like Meeks, is more cautious and wishes to avoid an over-emphasis upon the role of the Samaritans in the Fourth Gospel, and he denies that "the Gospel as a whole was . . . written by . . . or for Samaritans." Nevertheless, he says, "we may suppose that one branch of the Johannine community was located in Samaria."[15] Like Scobie, Fortna states that "possibly Samaritans comprised one component of John's church so that to be a Samaritan is simply to be a Christian."[16]

With regard to the distinctly non-Samaritan elements of John, Freed notes that such disagreements as exist also exist for

Pharisaic Judaism and the Qumran community as well. Perhaps, as Freed suggests, "The simplest and most accurate explanation for the differences which do exist may be that of all the influences upon the writer of John the greatest was his Christianity."[17] We would say that from the cultural differences reflected in the Gospel, that the Johannine community believed itself to be related to the Rachel tribes or the "House of Joseph," wherever it was located in Palestine.

EXCURSUS: THE REVELATION OF JOHN AND THE SAMARITANS

In conclusion, a few words should be said about the Book of Revelation and the Samaritans, although a thorough discussion of the relationship between the two would require yet another lengthy study. What should be noted, however, is that despite the fact that it is connected with Asia Minor, it contains several allusions and even direct references to Samaritan theology and literature, some of which have already been noted (see pp. 222, 239, 246 above). For example, M. Black notes that Rev. 11:3ff. refers both to the Jewish messiah (Elijah) and the Samaritan messiah (Moses).[18] Moreover, "the Song of Moses," which is one of Samaritanism's greatest hymns, is mentioned specifically in Rev. 15:3 where it is said that some angels "had conquered the beast," singing "the Song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb." As Macdonald notes, it was only the Samaritans who "had such a high level of interest in Moses in such a personal way."[19]

Furthermore, in Rev. 20:8 "the hosts of Gog and Magog," which, as was noted earlier, are connected with the Messiah ben Joseph, are mentioned; and they appear only in the Qumran War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness and later Samaritan sources.[20] But what seems most significant to us is that in Rev. 7:4ff. the tribe of Dan is removed from the list of the twelve tribes. His name is replaced by Manasseh,[21] which with Ephraim were the two Samaritan tribes.

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NOTES--CHAPTER V

[1] C. H. H. Scobie, "The Origin and Development of the Johannine Community," p. 3.

[2] D. M. Smith, "Johannine Christianity," p. 237.

[3] O. Cullmann, The Johannine Circle, pp. 98-99.

[4] K. G. Bretschneider, Probabilia de evangelii et epistolarum Joannis apostoli indole et origine (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1820), pp. 224f.; Alfred M. Perry, "Is John an Alexandrian Gospel?" JBL 63 (1944):99f.; J. N. Sanders, The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943); K. and S. Lake, An Introduction to the New Testament (London: Christophers, 1948), p. 53.

[5] Smith, "Johannine Christianity," pp. 236-238.

[6] B. W. Bacon, The Gospel of the Hellenists, p. 112.

[7] C. C. Torrey, "Aramaic Origin," p. 316.

[8] C. Galland defines an actant as an "abstract semantic unit." As noted earlier (chap. IV, p. 290 n.165) the term was coined by A. J. Greimas in his Semantique structurale (Paris: Larousse, 1966). Greimas attempted to simplify Propp's seven basic dramatis personae into six: the sender, object, receiver, helper, subject, and opponent. The actant is to be differentiated from an "actor" or "character." For example, several different characters can fill one actantial slot, i.e., several characters in the same narrative can have the same role.

[9] G. Bucher, "Elements for an Analysis of the Gospel Text: The Death of Jesus," MLN 86 (1971):841.

[10] Howard Gardner, The Quest for Mind (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), pp. 24-25. This comment was given in his discussion of the advantages of a "structural history."

[11] Jean Starobinsky, "Considerations on the Present State of Literary Criticism," Diogenes 74 (1971):68. Italics added.

[12] Meeks, "'Am I A Jew?'" p. 178; cf. Kippenberg, Garizim und Synagoge, p. 303.

[13] Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 168.

[14] Ibid., p. 191. Italics added.

[15] Scobie, "Origin and Development," pp. 5-6.

[16] Fortna, "Theological Use," p. 83.

[17] Freed, "Did John," p. 246. In other words, if the Fourth Gospel were more Samaritan than Christian, it would no longer be a Christian Gospel. Thus each scholar has to determine for himself how many connections between a particular literary work and the culture in question are necessary in order to demonstrate a relationship between the two. It goes without saying that since scholars are human they will judge what we have presented on the basis of what they prefer to see. However, by arguing on the basis of certain cultural differences, i.e., the Leah/Rachel dichotomy, we have attempted to make more controlled comparisons than is normally the case.

[18] M. Black, "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man," p. 9.

[19] Macdonald, "The Discovery," p. 145.

[20] Macdonald, "The Day of Judgment," p. 40.

[21] K. H. Rengstorf, "δώδεκα," *TDNT*, II, p. 324 n.21; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XI,8,2.

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